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PARRHASIOS

ANDREAS RUMPF

PARRHASIOS is one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Only Apelles, Zeuxis and Polygnotus are more often mentioned than he in what remains to us of ancient literature. His fame resounds from the time of his contemporaries, Xenophon and Isocrates, to the time of Cicero, Horace, Diodorus of Sicily, Dionysios of Halicarnassos, Columella, Juvenal, Plutarch, Lucian, Himerios, Gregory of Nazianzus, and is still known in the Institutions of Justinian and Tzetzes. He is praised by historians and orators, philosophers and lawyers, preachers, poets and writers of every kind. The renown of Parrhasios lived as long as ancient culture.¹

What is important is that not only are the names of his works mentioned, but his art and technique also are characterised and even in later times his sketches served as models for artists.² It is therefore not too bold to try and find copies or echoes of his works and his style in preserved monuments. We know something about his life. Quintilian³ puts him in the time of the Peloponnesian war because of his conversation with Socrates in Xenophon. This is a genuine piece of contemporary testimony just as much as what Parrhasios says about himself. Clearchus describes, in a passage⁴ which was often copied in ancient times, the conceit and the extravagant clothing of the master; we will

not blame him for either. As evidence he gives an epigram by Parrhasios, in which he describes himself as ἀβροδίατρος, gives Evenor as his father and Ephesos as his birthplace, and proudly says that he has reached the boundaries of his art. We would be glad to know something about his father. According to Juba⁵ and Pliny,⁶ who puts him in the ninetieth Olympiad (420 B.C.), he was also a painter and the teacher of his son. He may perhaps be identified with the sculptor of the same name, of whom several inscriptions have been found on the Acropolis. These inscriptions are written in the ancient Attic alphabet, but stand on bases which have capitals with profiles of Eastern Ionian form.⁷ Raubitschek pointed this out when he connected with one of them the early classical Athena statuette in the Acropolis Museum.⁸ He also suggested the identity of this Evenor with the father of Parrhasios. The chronological consequence of this would be that Evenor must be put much earlier than the date given by Pliny. This, however, is in any case necessary, for Parrhasios, according to Pausanias,⁹ made the drawings for the relief by Mys on the shield of the great bronze Athena by Phidias. This statement is confirmed by an epigram about a cup, which is recorded by Athenaeus.¹⁰ Renaissance painters used to work for goldsmiths when they were quite young,

¹ I owe my thanks to Professor T. B. L. Webster of University College London for translating the German manuscript and for some suggestions. It is my privilege to thank Sir John Beazley and Lady Beazley who generously allowed the reproduction of the Louvre oenochoe. The literature can be found in Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen* (Leipzig 1868) (quoted below as Overbeck) no. 1692-1730; Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* (Stuttgart 1889) II 97-121. Cf. Klein, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* II (Leipzig 1905) 174-182; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (quoted below as Pfuhl), II (Munich 1923) 689-695; Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven 1929) 233-234; Erwin Bielefeld, *Archäologische Vermutungen* (Würzburg 1938); Bianchi-Bandinelli in *Critica d'Arte* 3 (1938) 4-11 = *Storicità dell'Arte Classica* (quoted below as *Storicità*) (Florence 1943) 59-76.

² Pliny *NH* 35.68. Overbeck no. 1722. Cf. Beazley, *Potter and Painter* 38.

³ Quintilian 12.10.4. Overbeck no. 1680.

⁴ Athenaeus 12.543c and 15.687b. Aelian *Var. Hist.* 9.11. Eusthatus on *Odyssey* 1698, 61. Overbeck no. 1700. Cf. T. B. L. Webster in *CQ* 33 (1939) 171.

⁵ Harpocration, s.v. Παρρᾶσιος. Overbeck no. 1694.

⁶ Pliny *NH* 35.60. Overbeck no. 1641.

⁷ *JG* I² 494-496. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arch. Athenarum* app. ep. 81-83. *BlAB* 12 (1938) 176 and *BSA* 40 (1939-40) 28 ff (Raubitschek).

⁸ *Acr. Mus.* 140. Dickins, *Cat.* I 93. Schrader, *Arch. Gr. Pl.* figs. 23 and 25. Schrader-Langlotz-Schuchhardt, *Arch. Marmorbildw. der Akrop.* pls. 9-11, p. 48.

⁹ Pausanias 1.28.2. Overbeck no. 1720.

¹⁰ Athenaeus 11.782b. Overbeck no. 1721.

sometimes still as boys, as we learn from Vasari.¹¹ In times when spectacles were not common, the sharp eyes of the young were used for such minute work. On this assumption, Pliny's date¹² for the *floruit* of Parrhasios, as contemporary and rival of Zeuxis in the ninety-fifth Olympiad (400-396 B.C.), could possibly be compatible with the sketches for a work by Phidias. In that case—as has long been recognized—the connection of the master with the capture of Olynthus, assumed by the elder Seneca¹³ in one of his *Controversiae*, must be disregarded. The Senecan theme is that Parrhasios "of Athens" bought from Philip among the prisoners from Olynthus, an old man whom he had tortured to death as a model for his Prometheus; the picture was dedicated in the temple of Athena. There is a chain of interesting legal complications, which are duly exploited by the fellow-pupils of Seneca. A decree of the Athenian demos equated the Olynthians with Athenian citizens. If, therefore, an Athenian bought one of Philip's prisoners, he was not buying a slave, but freeing a fellow-citizen; if he killed him, it was not killing a slave, but murder, and the dedication of the picture constituted sacrilege. Athens therefore must be the home of the painter, otherwise the legal problem would not arise. It must be Olynthus, otherwise the prisoner would not have become an Athenian. All that is naturally fiction. The anecdote itself is a wandering story and is told in a similar form of Michelangelo and Rubens.¹⁴ It is not even necessary to assume the existence of a Prometheus by Parrhasios; but it is likely. The Elian Zeus of Phidias existed, although it is

not true that the artist was sent back to Athens with his hands cut off, as Seneca says in another *Controversia*.¹⁵ The teacher of forensic oratory flavours his *Controversia* by attaching it to a famous artist and a famous work.

But all discussions about the date of Parrhasios are idle as long as we can form no clear idea of his art. An echo of one of his pictures has been suggested—the suffering Philoctetes in Lemnos. It is known from an epigram of Glaucus,¹⁶ which only describes Philoctetes' helpless isolation and misery. No pictorial element is described, such as his lameness or the birds he has killed or his fanning his wound with a bird's wing. Only the dull pain is mentioned. It is very probable that the epigram of Julian of Egypt¹⁷ should be related to this, although the painter is not named. It speaks of pain, tears, wild hair, weather-beaten skin. On the silver cup of Cheirisophos¹⁸ the Philoctetes is an impressive unity within the composition. It is therefore quite possible that it should be traced back to Parrhasios. This was already conjectured by Friis Johansen¹⁹ when he first published the find of Hoby and has been accepted by Rodenwaldt²⁰ and Bianchi-Bandinelli.²¹ But there has not yet been a detailed demonstration that a corresponding figure exists in the painting of the late fifth century. We have, however, on a white-ground lekythos from the Gallatin Collection in New York²² a seated youth with bent head and arm raised over it in a posture very like that of Philoctetes, but reversed. It is very near a lekythos formerly belonging to Dr. Hirsch in Geneva.²³ Its main figure, with the exception of the left arm, which

¹¹ Vasari in the *Lives* of Luca della Robbia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Masolino da Panicale, Filippo Brunelleschi, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Antonio Pollaiuoli, Andrea Verrocchio, Francesco Francia, Lorenzo di Credi, Baldassare Peruzzi, Andrea del Sarto, etc. Also Giovannantonio Dosio was a goldsmith when he was only 15 years old (Hülsem, *Skizzenbuch des G. Dosio*, iii); so was Albrecht Dürer as a boy.

¹² Pliny *NH* 35.64. Overbeck no. 1649.

¹³ Seneca *Controv.* 10.5. Overbeck no. 1703.

¹⁴ Michelangelo: Brunn, *Geschichte der gr. Künstler* II 98. Rubens: *Annalen des histor. Vereins für den Niederrhein* 19 (Köln 1861) 36.

¹⁵ Seneca *Controv.* 8.2.

¹⁶ *Anth. Gr.* 2.348.5 (Planud. 4.111). Overbeck no. 1709.

¹⁷ *Anth. Gr.* 3.200.27 (Planud. 4.113). Overbeck no. 1709.

¹⁸ Friis Johansen, *Hoby-Fundet* (*Nordiske Fortidsminder* II, 3 [1923]) pl. 9. Rodenwaldt, *Propyl. Kunstgesch.* 544 (2nd. ed. 570, 4th ed. 582). Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, fig. 298. *AA* 1937, 239 fig. 1; 242 fig. 2. (Rodenwaldt). Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Storicità* pl. 28, 53.

¹⁹ *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, II, 3 (1923) 134.

²⁰ *AA* 1937, 238.

²¹ *Storicità* 74.

²² *Metr. Mus.* 41.162.12. *CVA*, Gallatin, fasc. i, pl. 28, 28 A (U.S.A. 48-49). Richter, *Att. Rf. Vases* fig. 117.

²³ Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* pl. 8. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (quoted below as *ARV*) 828,

here hangs down, agrees completely with the Philoctetes, even to the foreshortening of the left foot. Sir John Beazley, who published this vase, attributes it to his "Group R." This includes the two magnificent lekythoi from Eretria in the National Museum at Athens, 1816 (fig. 3),²⁴ and 1817 (fig. 1),²⁵ which Semni Papaspiridi gave to her Reed painter.²⁶ Beazley emphasises, rightly as I think, the superiority of these and related vases to the great mass of small lekythoi, and makes them into a special group.

The Gallatin and Hirsch lekythoi are remarkable in that the figures have no inner markings at all, although the seated figure in the middle gives a considerable impression of depth. The master confines himself to drawing the outline. By his outline alone he has succeeded here, as on other vases of the group, in rendering a volume. As a contrasting example, one may compare the seated youth on the red-figured jug in the Vlasto Collection by the Eretria painter,²⁷ which is only slightly older. Here the breast and belly muscles of the three-quarter youth are most carefully drawn. The master of Group R, on the other hand, consciously uses a virtuoso technique which distinguishes him from the majority of his contemporaries. His large lekythoi have been connected with Parrhasios by Semni Papaspiridi²⁸ and Bianchi-Bandinelli.²⁹ Twelve years ago I related the chief pieces of Group R to the well-known passage of Pliny³⁰ where, on the testimony of Xenocrates and Antigonos, he recognises as the main achievement

of Parrhasios the mastery of outlines; *in lineis extremis*.³¹ Quintilian also stresses the fineness of his lines.³² There is no mention anywhere of modelling by light and shade, but it is stated that he was inferior in the inner markings. Fronto³³ thinks it would be as absurd to expect *versicolora* from Parrhasios as to expect *unicolora* from Apelles. Great emphasis must be laid on this, because almost all modern attempts to explain the judgment of Xenocrates and Antigonos start from the assumption that we have to do with the kind of shading used in developed painting. Our passage says the direct opposite. Parrhasios' art lies, not in inner markings, but in the contour of the outlines; not in reflected light and shadows, but in lines; *lineae extremae* cannot mean anything else, and we have no right to read into the text what is not there, particularly when it goes back to two Hellenistic artists, Xenocrates and Antigonos, and therefore is of quite a different value from a rhetorical phrase. We must take the words literally. They do not mean painting, but linear drawing. This assumption is not a glaring anachronism³⁴ at the end of the fifth century B.C., as our lekythoi show. Even in the full fourth century, pictures with developed shading have women in outline and, on reliefs, female figures have red contours.³⁵ The *lineae extremae* of Parrhasios were, according to Xenocrates and Antigonos, not merely outlines but outlines which make the figures appear solid, because they promise more than is visible. Such an effect can

7. A third figure in a like position on a lekythos, Louvre CA 536 (Fairbanks, *Ath. White Lek.* II, pl. 28, 1), accordingly to Beazley, *ARV* 828, 10, much restored.

²⁴ Riezler, *Weissgr. Lekythen* pl. 90; Beazley-Ashmole, *Gr. Sc. and Paint.* fig. 113; Beazley, *Ath. White Lek.* pl. 4, 2; Webster, *Gr. Art and Literature* pl. 11, b; *Deltion* 1923, 128 fig. 7, β; Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* fig. 274 (2nd ed. 301); *CV A*, Athens, fasc. i, III J d, pl. 16 (Gr. 48), 1-3, pl. 17 (Gr. 49), 2; Beazley, *ARV* 828, 15. Our figure 3 after Zervos.

²⁵ Riezler, *Weissgr. Lekythen* pl. 91; Pfuhl fig. 552; Papaspiridi, *Guide* 336, fig. 72; *Deltion* 1923, 125, fig. 4, ε; 128, fig. 7, α; Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* fig. 280 (2nd ed. 300); Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Storicità*, pl. 31; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* 236, fig. 256; *CV A*, Athens, fasc. i, III J d, pl. 16 (Gr. 48) 4-6 pl. 17 (Gr. 49) 1; Beazley, *ARV* 828, 12. Our figure 1 after Zervos.

²⁶ *Deltion* 1923, 126.

²⁷ *BCH* 58 (1934) pl. 6.

²⁸ *Deltion* 1923, 142.

²⁹ *Storicità* 75.

³⁰ *JDAI* 49 (1934) 23, n. 1.

³¹ Pliny *NH* 35.67. Overbeck no. 1724.

³² Quintilian 12.10.4. Overbeck no. 1725.

³³ Fronto *Ad Verum* 1. Overbeck no. 1726.

³⁴ Pfuhl, II 692. Robert, *Marathonsschlacht* (18th Hall. *Winck. Pr.*, 1895) 74, already had the right explanation, although the vase parallels he quotes seem too late.

³⁵ For outline drawing of female bodies in fourth century painting cf. *JDAI* 49 (1934) 16 ff. and *JHS* 67 (1947) 11 ff. Relief: *JDAI* 36 (1921) pl. 1 (Rodenwaldt); Rodenwaldt, *Propyl. Kunstgesch.*, pl. 22 (4th ed. 23); Richter, *Sc. and Sc.* fig. 461; Swindler, *Anc. Painting* fig. 467.

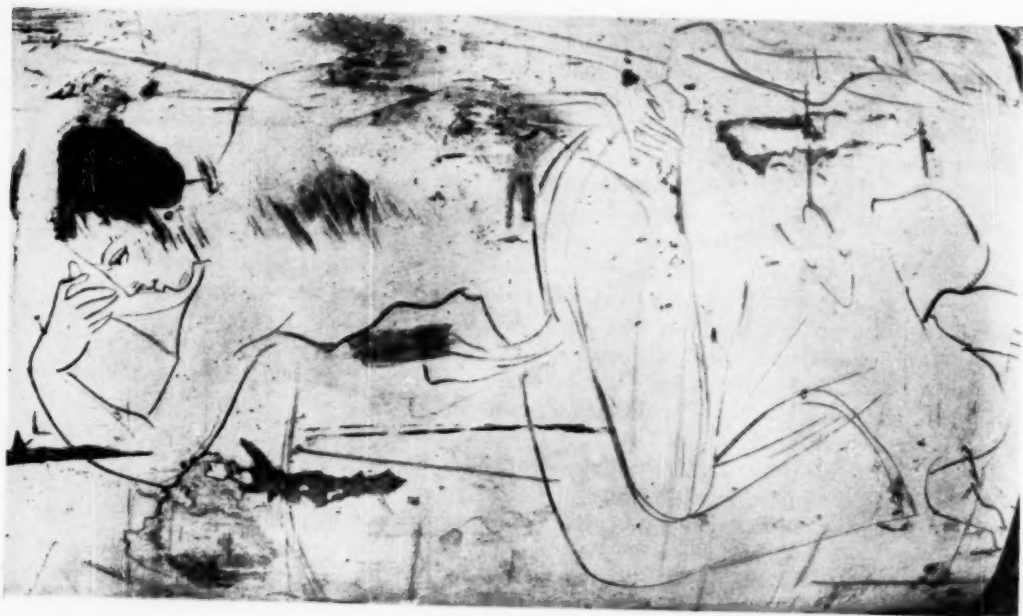


FIG. 4. LEKYTHOS ATHENS 1833, after Zervos,
L'art en Grèce fig. 302.



FIG. 3. LEKYTHOS ATHENS 1816, after Zervos,
L'art en Grèce fig. 301.

pursues a girl who flies to the right and turns her head three-quarters to the left. The head is bent in the same way on a fragment in the British Museum,⁴⁹ where a tattooed woman hurries to the right. She has short hair and carries a child on her arm; she is therefore a Thracian nurse, as her bare breast also suggests. Ernst Pfuhl⁵⁰ related to her the *Thressam nutricem infantemque in manibus eius*, Pliny's title of a picture by Parrhasios,⁵¹ but he wrongly regarded her as earlier than Parrhasios. The fact that the fragment is early Italic will disturb no one who knows the close relations between artists in Athens and Tarentum at this time.⁵² It is connected with our lekythoi of Group R by the timid look, heightened by the wrinkled forehead. Compare particularly—also in the formation of the mouth—the gloomy youth on Athens 1816 (fig. 3), of whom Beazley says: "the youth is not Achilles or Meleager, although the artist may have remembered representations of those characters."⁵³ In contrast with the stiff hair of the nurse, which recalls the unkempt Philoctetes, he shows the *elegantiam capilli* and *venustatem oris*, for which Parrhasios was famed. *Argutiae coltus* can be recognised in the two chief figures of lekythoi 1816 and 1817 (figs. 3 and 1)⁵⁴—1816 (fig. 3) bold, hot-tempered, strong-willed, 1817 (fig. 1) mild, soft and tired. Not only the positions of the heads, but also the eyes and the brows cause this impression. If one reads the famous passage⁵⁵ in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, it seems to be a contemporary's explanation of our two lekythoi. They really do represent τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθος and it is in fact μίμητον ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν. One youth is σκυθρωπός, the other φαιδρός; one μεγαλοπρεπής, the other φρόνιμος. Xenophon was neither artist nor art critic; his conversation of Socrates with Parrhasios is all the more valuable, because it gives the view of the normal

educated Athenian of his time. It is certainly not chance that Parrhasios is his choice for a partner to Socrates. His work showed this description of character, perhaps most clearly in the picture of the Athenian Demos. Heinrich Brunn⁵⁶ pointed out that the words of Socrates on the representation of character in painting correspond to Pliny's description of the Demos by Parrhasios. Socrates says: τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ εὐθερίον καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ τὸ σωφρονικόν τε καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον. Pliny⁵⁷ says: *iracundum iniustum inconstantem eundem exorabilem clementem misericordem gloriosum excelsum humilem ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter*. Just because of the passage in Xenophon, we must take Pliny seriously. Brunn was quite right in saying that Socrates showed a fine knowledge of the artist by directing the discussion to that point in which the artist's chief strength lay. Although it may be too bold to assume that Xenophon is thinking of the picture of Demos, yet it is certain that, in his time, Parrhasios, if not any other painter, could achieve such character drawing. The lekythoi of Group R prove that there were such masters then.

The subject is natural for the period of the Peloponnesian War. The variability of the Demos is most obvious for us to-day in the story of the capture of Mytilene,⁵⁸ when all the male inhabitants were condemned to death and next day reprieved. That awakened criticism and satire. The comic poets put Demos on the stage, for which we have a striking example in the *Knights* of Aristophanes. We can also imagine that a painter of genius, who was famous for his character-drawing, undertook the same task. Only it is not easy to form any idea of the picture from the description in Pliny. Quatremère de Quincy⁵⁹ found an easy solution: an owl with

522, fig. 2; Buschor, *Grab eines attischen Mädchens* 7 fig. 2; Beazley, *ARV* 828, 17. The drawing in Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque* 21, fig. 4, does not reproduce the style but makes the motif clear.

⁴⁹ Cecil Smith, *Cat. Vases* III 308, fig. 24.

⁵⁰ Pfuhl, II 695.

⁵¹ Pliny *NH* 35.70. Overbeck no. 1716.

⁵² Trendall, *Frühitaliot. Vases* 8.

⁵³ *Attic White Lekythoi* 25.

⁵⁴ A good picture of both side by side, *CVA*, Athens,

fasc. i, III J d, pl. 17 (Gr. 49). In Pliny *NH* 35.70 (Overbeck no. 1717) Brunn (*Gesch. d. gr. Künstler* II 101) interprets *securitas* as *Dreistigkeit* and *simplicitas* as *Einfältigkeit*; if he is right, the contrast would be well illustrated by the two lekythoi.

⁵⁵ Xenophon *Memorab.* 3.10.1. Overbeck no. 1701.

⁵⁶ *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler* II 109.

⁵⁷ Pliny *NH* 35.69. Overbeck no. 1710.

⁵⁸ Thucydides 3.49.

⁵⁹ *Mon. restitués* II 71 ff.

a dozen heads of different animals, each of which would portray one of the separate traits or emotions. Apart from the fact that such a monster might be possible for Indian divinities or mediaeval illustrations of the Apocalypse but not for Greek art, it directly contradicts the words of Pliny *omnia pariter*; everything must be shown together rather than in separate heads. Brunn⁶⁰ emphasised that the transitory feelings and emotions must be shown in transitory movements or features, but did not try to give a solution. Wilhelm Klein⁶¹ for no reason united Theseus and Demos in one picture and rejected the Plinian description, like Ernst Pfuhl,⁶² who calls it rhetoric and prefers to imagine for the Demos a more or less individualised ideal type which would be capable of as many interpretations as the Mona Lisa. In such a case, the interpretation of the picture would be the *argumentum ingeniosum* and the merit would belong to the interpreter rather than to the painter. It is true that an ideal picture can awake differing impressions; ancient authors recognised in the Paris of Euphranor⁶³ the judge of the goddesses' beauty, the lover of Helen and the slayer of Achilles. Beauty and manhood can be combined with an understanding of the female form, and success in battle has always been compatible with success in love. In the Demos of Parrhasios there is an entirely different combination of incompatible characteristics. They fall into two distinct groups, first the noble: forgiveness, mildness, pity, pride; then the ignoble: anger, violence, injustice, inconstancy, vainglory, self-abasement and cowardice. One cannot expect each of these nuances to be rendered by a definite feature. There may well be rhetorical exaggeration here, but two sides of the character must have been

recognisable, and two sides which are normally incompatible. For we are dealing, as the outstanding example of the Mytilenean debate shows, not with simultaneous but with successive emotions. We would say to-day that to display the changing humors and feelings of the Demos is not the task of the painter but of the actor, and we should mean the actor of to-day, because the ancient actor wears a mask. This makes a play of expression in our sense impossible. It was, however, necessary, particularly in comedy, to arrange that a change of feeling should become clear to the spectators by the expression of the face. Here Quintilian⁶⁴ helps us with his description of the leading part of the old man in new comedy: *pater ille cuius praecipuae partes sunt quia interim concitatus interim lenis est, altero erecto altero composito est supercilio, atque id ostendere maxime latus actoribus moris est quod cum iis quas agunt partibus congruat*. This is confirmed by Pollux⁶⁵ when he describes in his catalogue of masks the ἡγεμῶν πρεσβύτης: *τὴν ὀφρὺν ἀνατέταται τὴν δεξιάν*. This peculiarity is not confined to this single role. Pollux also writes of the Lykomedeios, *ἀνατείνει τὴν ἐτέραν ὀφρὺν*. Although new comedy began a century after Parrhasios, its grotesque masks are taken over from middle or even old comedy. This is especially true of the slave masks,⁶⁶ although Pollux and Quintilian do not quote this trait in them. The gap, however, is filled by monumental evidence—the large marble mask from the Ceramicus⁶⁷ with which small terracottas⁶⁸ can be connected. We must remember that Demos was caricatured in comedy and that, in the Platonic Alcibiades, Demos is said to have a beautiful mask which, however, must be stripped off him.⁶⁹ Therefore a connection

⁶⁰ *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler* II 110.

⁶¹ *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst* II 175.

⁶² Pfuhl, II 693.

⁶³ Pliny *NH* 34.77. Overbeck no. 1798.

⁶⁴ Quintilian 11.3.74. The grotesque expression achieved by a difference in the sides of the face is still understood to-day, cf. Aldous Huxley, *Those barren leaves*, Part I, ch. iii: "From the right side of his face Mr. Cardan looked at you mysteriously and confidentially through the gap in a kind of chronic wink. But from the left, the glance was supercilious and aristocratic."

⁶⁵ Pollux 4.144: *πρεσβύτης ἡγεμῶν*, 145: *Λυκομήδειος*. Cf. Robert, *Masken der neueren att. Komödie* (25th *Hall. Winck. Progr.* 1911) 29, fig. 60; 77, fig. 93; 79, fig. 97; 82, fig. 102; 9 fig. 16.

⁶⁶ Robert, *Masken* 20–21.

⁶⁷ Bieber-Brückner, *Skenika* (75th *Berl. Winck. Progr.* 1915) 32, pl. 4–6; Bieber, *Hist. Theater* 192, fig. 266.

⁶⁸ Bieber, *Denkm.* pl. 74, 3 (= *Hist.* 78, fig. 101). Bieber, *Hist.* 90, fig. 133; 91, fig. 135; 184, fig. 253.

⁶⁹ Plato *Alcibiades* 1.132a: *εὐπρόσωπος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος δῆμος ἔρχεθῶς· ἀλλ' ἀποδίντα χρῆ*

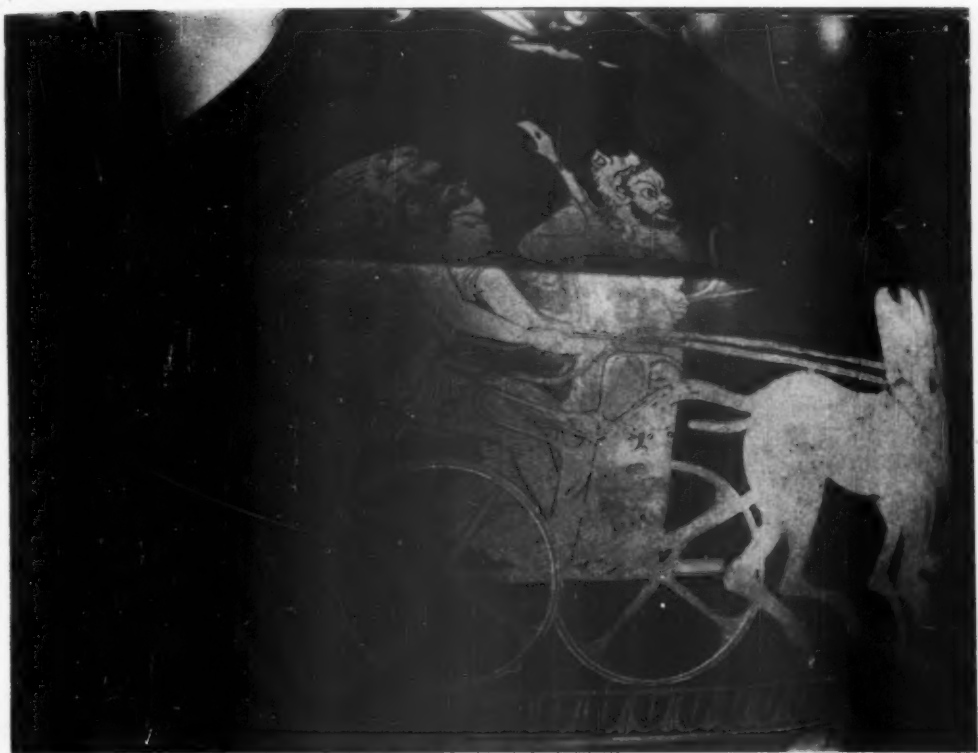


FIG. 5. OENOCHOE LOUVRE L9. Courtesy of Lady Beazley.



FIG. 6. OENOCHOE LOUVRE L9. Courtesy of Lady Beazley.

between masks and the picture of Parrhasios is certainly allowed. An artist of genius like Parrhasios is unlikely to have copied the procedures of the προσωποποιός. It is much more likely that he inspired the masks of comedy. We must, therefore, consider whether the same principle of differentiating the halves of the face by raising one brow and sinking the other cannot also be found in painting outside theatre monuments—naturally in caricatures. This is, in fact, the case; we find it on a well-known masterpiece, which was painted at least a generation after Parrhasios and has always been misinterpreted: the fragment with the signature of Assteas in the Villa Giulia.⁷⁰ This is not the representation of a theatre scene, for none of the figures have sleeves or masks; it is a parody of epic, though certainly in the same spirit as the parody of gods and heroes in Attic comedy or the phlyaces farces, not an illustration of a performance. Ajax seeks protection from the statue of Athena against Cassandra, who energetically defends her virtue. We are particularly interested in his face. The left eyebrow is pulled up high, the right one runs straight; this causes the unique expression of the hero in his flight: although he is so fierce, at the same time he cries for mercy. Once we have noticed this we shall find preliminary stages and approximations on earlier vase paintings. The brows of Diomedes on the well-known Dolon crater⁷¹ are clearly differentiated; it is again a South Italian vase, but belongs to the same group as the fragment which we compared before

to Parrhasios' Thracian nurse. There is also Attic evidence for the same feature: the grotesque torch-dancer, who hops in front of the four centaurs who draw the chariot of Herakles, on oenochoe of the Nikias painter in the Louvre.⁷² Photographs of it are reproduced here for the first time by courtesy of Lady Beazley (fig. 5-7). The brows of the centaurs themselves recall theatre masks. The important point is that we are here in Attica, and the vase must have been painted in the time of Parrhasios, although it is naturally a long way below the lekythoi of Group R in quality.

But a flavour of caricature is not entirely alien from the grandeur of Group R. Charon is an ignoble figure who makes an exception in these elevated surroundings. He does occur in Group R; we find him on a lekythos in the Louvre.⁷³ Even stronger is the flavour of a caricature in the Thanatos on the Louvre lekythos, which we have already quoted when comparing the flying girl with the Thracian nurse.

Klein⁷⁴ holds the caricature of the Attic people as Δῆμος Πικνίτης δύσκολον γερόντιον to be unworthy of Parrhasios; to be logical, he rejects also the *libidines* which are quoted both by Pliny and Suetonius. Yet it is certainly not chance that obscene pictures, which are so common in vase painting of the ripe archaic period, vanish for about two generations and then reappear in the life-time of Parrhasios. We need only mention the oenochoe of the Shouvalow painter in Berlin,⁷⁵ and the bell-krater of the

αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι. Cf. Athenaeus 11.506c-d.

⁷⁰ Villa Giulia 50279. *Ausonia* 5 (1910) pl. 3 (Gäbrici); Bieber, *Denkm.* 146, fig. 129 (= *Hist.* 271-2, fig. 366-7); Ducati, *Storia della Ceramica Greca* 442, fig. 319; Pfuhl, fig. 803; Hoppin, *Black fig.* 440; *RM* 40 (1925) pl. 15, Beil. 5-7 (Rizzo); *FR* III 195, fig. 98; *Antike* 7 (1931) 86, fig. 8 (Zahn); Ducati, *Arte Classica*² 373, fig. 464; *CVA*, fasc. iii, IV G r, pl. 1-2 (It. 146-7); Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* 28, pl. 6, a, fig. 13.

⁷¹ Brit. Mus. F 157. *Bulletino Napolitano* 1 (1843) pl. 7; Baumeister, *Denkm.* I 459, fig. 505; *FR* pl. 110; Pfuhl fig. 800; Swindler, *Anc. Painting* fig. 380; Beazley-Ashmole, *Gr. Sc. and Paint.* fig. 139; Ducati *Stor. Cer.* 440, fig. 318; Trendall, *Frühitaliot. Vasen* 37, no. 237, pl. 14, a. Dolon's brows also are slightly differentiated.

⁷² *Mon. Grees* 1876, pl. 3; *WT*, E, pl. 7-8, 3; Bieber,

Denkm. 137, fig. 125; Pfuhl fig. 572; Beazley, *ARV* 848, 22.

⁷³ Riezler, *Weissgr. Lekythen* pl. 89; Pfuhl fig. 551; Fairbanks, *Ath. White Lek.* II pl. 24, 3; Beazley, *ARV* 828, 14.

⁷⁴ *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst* II 175, 180.

⁷⁵ Furtwängler no. 2414; *FR* III 317, fig. 150; Beazley, *ARV* 754, 29. Pfuhl (II 694) has already quoted this for the *libidines* of Parrhasios. He also quotes the bronze mirror-case in Boston (Wolfgang Züchner, *Griech. Klappspiegel*, *JDAI* 14th Erg. Heft [Berlin 1942] 66, KS 95), which however belongs to the full fourth century. We have quoted above the one cup by Chiriosophos as influenced by Parrhasios. There is a terracotta replica of the other in Berlin (Inv. 30924; Neugebauer, *Führer Vasen* 203; *Acta A.* 1 [1930] 274, fig. 1 [Friis Johansen]). Therefore perhaps Arretine



FIG. 7. OENOCHOR LOUVRE L.9. Courtesy of Lady Beazley.

Deinos painter in the British Museum.⁷⁶ The superb cup of the Jena painter with Chorillos and Paidia⁷⁷ shows how such a subject can be treated in the grand style. So the price named by Suetonius may be determined not only by the subject but by its value as a masterpiece of art.

Wherever the literary tradition gives us a reason for examining the surviving monuments,

vases may be used to illustrate the *libidines*, cf. *NS* 1884, pl. 9, 2 and 4; Reinach, *Rép. reliefs* III, 5, 2; Licht, *Sittengesch.* III, 169 f; Pollak, *Coll. Prospero Sarti* (Rome 1906) pl. 21, 305; Chase *Loeb Collection, Arretine Pottery* pl. 9, 77, pl. 10, 80-82, pl. 16, 83; Chase, *Cat. Arretine Pottery Boston* no. 37-43; *CTA*, *Metr. Mus.*, fasc. i, pl. 27 (U.S.A. 439), pl. 34 (U.S.A. 446) 1-2, pl. 43 (U.S.A. 455) 7, pl. 45 (U.S.A. 457) 1. There was a complete mould in the Warren collection, which is said to be now in Boston. In any case they echo motifs of the fifth century B.C., as also the *nomismata lasciva* (Martial 8.7.9; cf. Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* II, 9th ed., 17) of the Imperial period (*Cat. Hirsch* 34 Slg. Weber, 10th May 1909, pl. 66, 3640-51). A picture with folding doors is evidently imitated in the Cameo

we have had no difficulty in finding parallels for Parrhasios' works and his stylistic peculiarities in the graphic art of the last third of the fifth century. The judgments of the art critics of the fourth century can also be understood by reference to lekythoi of Group R. The piece in the Hirsch collection, which we compared with Philoctetes, and the piece in Vienna⁷⁸ with the

from the Farnese Collection in Naples (Spinazzola, *Arti dec.* pl. 241, II 6; Pesce, *Oreficaria etc.* 66, 1). In quoting a gem we remember that the Odysseus on the cup of Cheirisophos is reproduced on a gem: Berlin 340, Furtwängler, *Gemmen* pl. 10, 25.

⁷⁶ Brit. Mus. F 65, Beazley, *ARV* 791, 23.

⁷⁷ Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen Würzburg* pl. 162, 492; Beazley, *ARV* 881, 39. The gem in Boston (Beazley, *Leves gems* no. 60; Furtwängler, *Gemmen* pl. 61, 34) is not far distant in time.

⁷⁸ Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sicil. Vasenbilder* pl. 34; Riezler, *Weissgr. Lekythen* 28-29; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* 227, fig. 246, 219, fig. 238; Schoenebeck-Kraiker, *Hellas* pl. 91; Beazley, *ARV* 827, 1.

youth playing the lyre, have figures with soft limbs which can really be said to have been drawn *γαφύρω*s. They make intelligible the judgment of Euphranor,⁷⁹ which is transmitted by Pliny and Plutarch, that Parrhasios' Theseus was fed on roses, but his own on beef, particularly if we compare young men from the time of Euphranor, for example, the athletes of the panathenaic amphora⁸⁰ of 340, to which heroic figures on contemporary red figure vases⁸¹ can be added.

If we imagine the works of Parrhasios as like the lekythoi of Group R, we understand that his *multa graphidis vestigia in tabulis ac membranis* were prized in later times as models for drawing⁸² and perhaps also for relief vases in silver and terracotta. The drawings on whitened boxwood tablets and parchment would hardly look any different from the lekythoi. Large scale outline drawings were also esteemed by the classicists of the Augustan period. This is clear from the copies of the astragalizousai of Alexandros⁸³ and the frescoes of the Tiber house.⁸⁴ The strength of Parrhasios, according to the unanimous judgment of all our sources, lay not in color, light and shade but in outline,

and outline without strong inner markings. Only one passage seems to contradict this: the contest with Zeuxis in which Parrhasios defeated his adversary by the realistic painting of a curtain. But this is also a wandering story. Vasari tells a similar story of a realistic curtain by Giovanni da Udine in the loggie of the Vatican. If it were true, it would only show that Parrhasios, if he wished, could beat his rival on his own ground. Rivalry with the early masters who introduced shading, with the pioneer Apollodorus and his greater successor, Zeuxis, is shown in the epigrams of Parrhasios;⁸⁵ he rejects the new fashion of skiagraphia which was then, and even in the following century, so undeveloped that one can perhaps understand Plato's opposition.⁸⁶ It is true that this was the painting of the future, but Parrhasios could justifiably say that he had reached the boundaries of the only art he recognized, the old technique of pure outline drawing; for if his work was in fact like the magnificent lekythoi, which we have continually used to illustrate it, we shall cheerfully forgive his proud self-praise.

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⁷⁹ Pliny *NH* 35.129; Overbeck no. 1790; Plutarch *De glori. Ath.* 2; Overbeck no. 1704.

⁸⁰ *RM* 47 (1932) pl. 24 (Speier); *AJA* 1906, pl. 16 (Hoppin); *CIA*, Hoppin, pl. 6; *AJA* 1943, 458, 2 (Beazley).

⁸¹ *Compte-rendu St. Pétersbourg* 1859, pl. 2; *FR* pl. 70; Ducati, *Saggio Ceramica quarto secolo* pl. 1; Pfuhl fig. 596; Leipoldt, *Rel. Umwelt des Urchristentums* (Bilderatlas z. Religionsgesch. 9-11) fig. 191; Schefold, *Unters. Kertscher Vasen* pl. 35, no. 368.

⁸² Pliny *NH* 35.68; Overbeck no. 1722.

⁸³ Naples, Mus. Naz., Elia, *Pittura* no. 40, fig. 13; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 194, 2; Phot. Sommer 9278; Phot. Brogi 11300; Robert, 21th *Hall. Winck. Progr.* 1897; Hirth, *Formenschatz* (1900) 13; Bulle, *Schöne Mensch* pl. 310; Ahren, *Weib* 132, fig. 134; Pfuhl fig. 629; Rodenwaldt, *Propyl. Kunstgesch.* 347 (2nd ed. 364, 4th ed. 372); Marconi, *Pitt. Romani* fig. 5; Rizzo, *Pitt. Ellen.-Romana* pl. 86; Curtius, *Wandmal. Pomp.* 3, fig. 1; Swindler, *Anc. Paint.* fig. 371; von Scheffer, *Kultur* fig. 115; Méautis, *Chefs-d'oeuvre* fig. 2.

⁸⁴ Helbig-Amelung, *Führer Rom* no. 1468; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 325, 2; Pfuhl fig. 719; Curtius, *Wandmal. Pomp.* 95, fig. 66—Helbig-Amelung, no. 1473; Reinach

Rép. peint. 329, 6—Helbig-Amelung, no. 1474; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 330, 2—Helbig-Amelung no. 1475; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 263, 7; Marconi, *Pitt. Romani* fig. 3; Rizzo, *Pitt. Ellen.-Romana* pl. 90 A—Helbig-Amelung no. 1477 left; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 263, 7; Baumeister, *Denkm.* III 1545, fig. 1609; Robert, *Masken* 107, fig. 125—Helbig-Amelung no. 1477 right; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 264, 5; Baumeister, *Denkm.* III 1541, fig. 1605; Marconi, *Pitt. Romani* fig. 2; *RM* 42 (1927) Beil. 7, 2—Helbig-Amelung no. 1479; Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 63, 1; Pfuhl fig. 720; Curtius, *Wandmal. Pomp.* 97, fig. 67; Marconi, *Pitt. Romani* fig. 4; Rizzo, *Pitt. Ellen.-Romana* pl. 90; *RM* 42 (1927) Beil. 7, 1; Swindler, *Anc. Paint.* fig. 539.

⁸⁵ The Curtain: Pliny *NH* 35.65 (Overbeck no. 1649). Epigram: Athenaeus 12.543d-e. Against Zeuxis: *τέρματα τέχνης* (cf. Overbeck no. 1657), against Apollodorus: *ἀμωρητον οὐδὲν* (cf. Overbeck no. 1645).

⁸⁶ For shadow painting in the fourth century B.C. see *JDAI* 49 (1934) 15 ff. and *JHS* 67 (1947) 14 f. For Plato's critics on *skiagraphia*: *JDAI* 25 (1910) 17 ff. (Pfuhl).

CERNUNNOS: ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION OF A CELTIC DIVINITY¹

PHYLLIS FRAY BOBER

TO the student of Roman provincial art, the monuments from the Celtic provinces of Gaul present myriad problems of religious interpretation as well as purely stylistic complexities in the constant dialogue between inherent "primitivism" and Graeco-Roman formal concepts. The multiple barriers which obstruct our understanding of the essence and origin of indigenous Celtic divinities are based upon the fact that these divinities are manifestations of religious concepts that can be approached only indirectly, given the lack of native sources and the extremely limited figural representations from La Tène art. With the advent of the Romans one begins to distinguish the first vague outlines of pre-Roman mythology in Germany and in Gaul, rapidly to be modified by a transforming re-interpretation which is effective from two directions: from the Romans' naive assurance that strange divinities of the "barbarians" are but members of their own pantheon under foreign designation — *interpretatio romana*; and from the indigenous population's readiness to accept for their religious personalities, often

aniconic, the artistic types and names of those Roman divinities whose natures may include one or more parallel functions — *interpretatio gallica*.²

There are three equally hazardous avenues of approach to Celtic religion open to the investigator. The first is that provided by Greek and Latin authors who, if their information concerning the gods and beliefs of the inhabitants of Gaul or Germany was accurate, were prone to misinterpretations rooted in the very immanence of their own classical background. And these scanty literary references are now impossible to verify, since the writers only rarely give the native names of the divinities who are the subject of their brief equations or, recording the names, neglect to adduce their interpretation.³ Wissowa has summed up the situation implicit in this method of research: "Im allgemeinen darf man sagen, dass wir aus den *interpretationes Romanae* mehr für unsere Kenntnis römischen Denkens als für die der provinziellen Religionen gewinnen."⁴

The second method of approach, of which

¹ The substance of this article was prepared in 1946, before I was familiar with a war-time publication by P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, werken . . . faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren, no. 93), Bruges, 1942. Although some of the material given here is duplicated in his study of Cernunnos, the conclusions reached differ so markedly from those expressed here that it has not seemed necessary to suppress any of my documentation. The reader is referred to Lambrechts' work for supplementary references and bibliography.

I would like to express here my indebtedness to Professor Karl Lehmann for his counsel and interest in the larger study of Gallo-Roman sculpture of which this forms a part.

² For the most penetrating discussion of *interpretatio romana*, according to the term borrowed from Tacitus, see Wissowa, *ARW* (1916-19) 1-49; also F. Richter, *De deorum barbarorum interpretatione*

romana quaestiones selectae (Diss. Halle 1906). For a less intensive treatment, see the introductory section of F. Drexel, "Götterverehrung im röm. Germanien," *Röm.-german. Komm. Bericht*, 14 (1922) 1-68.

For the religion of various provincial groups within the Legions, von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Ztschr. f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, 14 (1895) 1-121.

³ Complete references to Greek and Latin authors whose works include comments on the Celts are listed in the first chapter of Dottin, *Manuel . . . à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*² (1915). The sources for Gaul are collected in Dom Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores I* (Paris 1738). For the Germanic regions, see A. Riese, *Das rhein. Germanien in d. antik. Literatur* (1892). E. Norden (*D. german. Urgesch. u. Tacitus Germania*)² clarifies the background and conditioning preconceptions of Latin historians.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 28.

Arbois de Jubainville⁵ has been the major exponent, is that of a comparative study of later Irish mythology as it had evolved from alleged parallels with continental conceptions. This may often prove valuable for corroborative material, but would seem to be misleading as *a priori* evidence in view of the many centuries of independent evolution which elapsed between the origins of the Irish mythological cycle and its documentation. It is then the third method, intensive study of the monuments of the Roman period—in which, however, the complex process of assimilation to state religion had already contaminated the older Celtic worship—which proves most reliable and rewarding.

This oblique methodology is further complicated by the fact that local divergences appear to have been strong among the various tribes of Gaul, and that there is no reason to assume a uniform pan-Celtic religion in pre-Roman times. Many of the so-called divinities seem to have been natural personifications of certain topographical features, mountains, springs and woods, and as such local in character. The wealth of epithets appended to the name of any one Roman god—Apollo, Mercury, or Hercules, for example—is eloquent testimony to these regional variations, since it appears that these are but designations of indigenous personalities who were merged with the Latin figure.⁶ In general, the native divinities of Gaul and Germany are known to us only through such epithets, occurring in independent inscriptions or in connection with representations of purely classical conception.

It is, then, an exceptional position in which one finds oneself in seeking to define the essential

nature of the Celtic divinity whose characteristics include a seated pose with legs crossed under his body (the attitude termed "accroupi," "Buddhist," or "the tailors' seat"), large stag's antlers growing from his temples, one or more torques, and a heavy sack or purse, although not all of these need appear in a single representation. In addition, the god is frequently accompanied by a ram-headed serpent or by other divinities, including his female counterpart who usually holds a cornucopia. In this instance, not only the Celtic name of the god, but also pre-Roman representations of him are known.

His impressive figure appears on one face of an "altar" in the Cluny Museum, dating from the Roman occupation of Paris (fig. 1), a representation to which we shall return in the ensuing discussion of the iconographic and stylistic character of the Gallo-Roman monuments. Above him, now partially obscured but assured by eighteenth century drawings, is inscribed his name: CERNVNOS, "the horned one."⁷ The same personage is found in a rock carving of Val Camonica which is dated by Altheim before the mid-fourth century B.C., at the time of the Celtic sojourn in northern Italy.⁸ Here, clothed in a long flowing garment, he stands erectly in an *orans* pose, but the presence of both torques and antlers ensures his identification. Cernunnos is not, therefore, one of the aniconic deities of the Celts who first found artistic visualization under the impact of Roman civilization. Coins of the Catalauni and other tribes antedate the Roman conquest and these already show him, or a related figure, in his more characteristic "tailors' seat"⁹ as does the famous plaque of the Gundestrup cauldron,

⁵ *Le cycle mythol. irland. et la mythol. celtique* (1884); English ed., Dublin, 1903. Also numerous articles.

⁶ Cf. MacCulloch, *Religion of the ancient Celts* (1911), 23 f. For the extraordinary profusion of divine names among the Celts, see Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprach-schatz* (Leipzig, 1896 f.).

⁷ Holder, *s.v.* See below, pp. 28-31, notes 99-104.

⁸ *RM* 54 (1939) 2.

⁹ *Dictionnaire archéologique d. l. Gaule; époque celtique*, 1, no. 232. An enlarged photograph of one example of this coin type is to be found in D. A. MacKenzie, *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain*, pl. vi. The older attribution of the type to the Catalauni

has been negated by Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies*, 1, p. 387, and by Forrer, *Keltische Numismatik*, p. 311, no. 516. It seems that if the coins were not "international," they were at least minted by several tribes. They are often referred to in the literature as "bronzes," but actually consist of the alloy, *potin*.

Inasmuch as the figure represented lacks antlers, the identification is problematic. It is entirely possible, however, that the die-cutters considered the posture, the torque and the serpent on the reverse (above a boar, seemingly horned) sufficient characterization, particularly in view of the spatial exigencies of the coin surface. All early representations of

a Celtic product of the second or first century B.C. (fig. 3).¹⁰ We shall return to a more detailed analysis of these monuments which prove that the representational type for Cernunnos had already been formed in La Tène art.

Such a situation would seem a particularly happy one, but despite these advantages Cernunnos remains one of the most enigmatic figures of Celtic religion. Discussions concerning his origin and his meaning have been both varied and heated. This divinity who could retain so much of his initial character under the impact of Roman symbolism appealed strongly to the imaginations of French archaeologists of the nineteenth century and many catalogues of the known representations were compiled, one after the other, as new monuments continued to be discovered. One of the most recent collections (1934) is that of Raymond Lantier,¹¹ who isolated the cross-legged pose as the basis for his catalogue and consequently omitted many images which can be identified as Cernunnos but which do not conform to that attitude; by the same token, a number of Lantier's listings cannot be included under Cernunnos. The realm of interpretation saw even greater activity. Working in a maze of contradictory evidence, such scholars as Salomon Reinach, Alexandre Bertrand, Robert Mowat and others expounded

their theories with impressive antiquarian erudition.

Iconographic interpretations which have been offered range between the extremist poles of, on the one hand, the *retardataire* romanticism of Courcelle-Seneuil who, in discussing a bronze statuette from Autun, (fig. 7)¹² designated it a personification of Mont Dore and called the two serpents entwined about the waist symbols of the two rivers which embrace that mountain, to the scepticism of Lantier, on the other. The latter concludes that the "dieu accroupi" is a composite hybrid of multiple meanings and functions and that no arbitrary hypothesis concerning his significance can be accepted, that each monument must be studied as an entity.¹³ Lenormant and De Witte compared the Greek Actaeon and eccentric manifestations of Jupiter.¹⁴ Arbois de Jubainville recognized in Cernunnos the Celtic god of the night, of death and evil,¹⁵ in contrast to those who saw in him and his female partner the creators and nourishers of mankind, of animals and of plants, great divinities of generation and fecundity.¹⁶ The name of Dis Pater has been applied to him—following Caesar's statement that the Celts believed themselves descendants of that god¹⁷—as it is freely used for other Celtic deities such as the god with a mallet,¹⁸ or the ram-headed serpent

Cernunnos appear to have been beardless (Val Camonica, Gundestrup, etc.). In any event, the coins prove that the cross-legged posture was in use before the Roman conquest.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 19–21, notes 38–46.

¹¹ *MonPiot* 34 (1934) 35–59. The most useful of the earlier catalogues is that of Reinach, *Bronzes figurés d. l. Gaule romaine* (1894), 185–197. Among his errors is the inclusion of a relief from Rully (Saône-et-Loire) which does not represent a horned divinity (Ésperandieu, hereafter cited as E, III, no. 2126).

¹² *Les dieux gaulois d'après les monuments figurés* (1910) 26 f.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 56–58.

¹⁴ *Élite des monuments céramographiques* 2, 327 ff.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 385. His comparison of the antlers with a moon-crescent is patently invalid. Compare his paper read April 25, 1883 (*Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*) in which he argued for a division of Celtic divinities into two groups, basing this distinction on false analogies with Irish mythology. The first group

would consist of the gods of life, the Tuatha dé Danann or solar gods; the second of the gods of death, ignorance and night, giants called Fomorians in Ireland. Because a twelfth century manuscript calls the father of one of the latter Buar-ainech (bull-face), he affiliated him with Cernunnos among the Celtic counterparts of the Fomorians. The same author later (*RA* 1900, 1, pp. 66–74) presented an even more confusing theory—see the discussion of the "Chun altar" below, p. 31. But the earlier theory has had more influence, and Steuding's article in Roscher's *Lexicon* (1, pt. 1, cols. 866 f.) perpetuates it.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Gassies, *REA* 9 (1907) 185 f.; 364–368. The designation, Dis Pater, he qualifies correctly as an *ex post facto* identification due to Roman efforts of assimilation.

¹⁷ *De bello gallico* 6, 18: *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt.*

¹⁸ The chief exponent of this point of view has been H. Hubert, *RA* 1915, 1, pp. 26–39. See also, C. Renel, *Les religions de la Gaule*, 252–257.

who is a frequent companion of Cernunnos.¹⁹

Others emphasized the same fertility aspect, but placed more stress upon specific dominion over material wealth.²⁰ Camille Jullian regarded the divine partners as manifestations of local springs, rivers and fountains, sharing in the broad conception of Dis Pater and sprouting antlers which parallel the bull's horns of classical river gods.²¹ Bertrand called the divinity who sits cross-legged in a sculpture from Saintes (fig. 9) Geryon, while the latter became in his synthesizing argument another form of Pluto, i.e. Axiokersos of the Samothracian mystery cult.²²

In more modern literature few studies submit interpretations of Cernunnos which are essentially new. An imaginative theory of D. A. MacKenzie carries earlier and more judicious ideas of Sir John Rhys²³ to a diffusionist formulation of Buddhism transferred to the West.²⁴ A stimulating article written by Emile Krüger just before the war²⁵ deals with the actual evidence in exemplary fashion, although extreme selectivity of material results in conclusions which are not convincing to me. Approaching Cernunnos by way of his holy animals, the stag and the bull,

which appear on only three of the monuments,²⁶ Krüger equates him with the Celtic war-god, Teutates. This scholar's individual contributions will be considered in their proper places below. The recent study of Celtic divinities by Pierre Lambrechts contains much valuable material on Cernunnos, although his book as a whole tends to syncretize the various deities of Gaul rather than to define and distinguish them one from the other. He examines separately the cross-legged divinity, the god with the ram-serpent, and the tricephalic deity as three regional manifestations of one being of multiple functions and poorly defined nature identified as Esus-Teutates (Mercury and Mars).²⁷

Believing that it is possible to define Cernunnos more closely, both in his original form and in transmutations under Roman influence, we shall attempt a re-evaluation of the individual monuments, beginning with pre-Roman examples or those which date from the first years of Latin hegemony in Gaul. Although in the conflicting maze of local differentiations there can be no ultimate assurance that we shall be able to arrive at a true understanding of this god and his circle, at least certain aspects may be clarified.

¹⁹ Reinach (*Bronzes* fig. 197) considered the ram-serpent and the god with a mallet as two mutually exclusive interpretations of Dis Pater, each confined to separate geographical areas of Gaul.

²⁰ R. Mowat, *Bull. épigraph. d. l. Gaule* 1 (1881) 113 f. Cf. Drexel, *Röm.-germ. Komm. Bericht* 14 (1922) 20.

²¹ *RE* A 9 (1907) 85 f. (vs. Gassies). He compares the ancient name of an affluent of the Meurthe which is similar to Cernunnos (cf. Holder, 1, col. 993).

²² *L'autel de Saintes et les triades gauloises* (reprint from *R.A.* 1880, 1, pp. 337-347; 1880, 2, pp. 1-18, 70-84), pp. 32 f. It is no longer possible to accept Bertrand's views on triads in Gallo-Roman religion, since there is no fixed or stable combination of figures on the monuments.

²³ *Celtic Heathendom* 77-99. He sought the origin of Cernunnos in remote Aryan mythology, which enabled him to find parallels in Teutonic and Irish legends.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 63 (1928-9) 196-213; *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain*, *passim*. In the introduction to the latter he says: "... the squatting Celtic god Cernunnos, who survives in Shakespeare as 'Herne the Hunter,' and whose attributes were acquired by St. Kentigern ...

is no other than Virupaksha, a Hindu-Buddhist god of the West—that is, a form of the Western Buddha, Amida Like Virupaksha, Cernunnos grasps in his left hand a horned snake which is the Naga . . . of a Hindu cult absorbed by the Northern Buddhists—the Naga which was the prototype of the Chinese dragon. As is shown, the horned god, Cernunnos, is himself a "Naga king" who controls the water supply, renders the land fertile, and promotes the welfare of human beings in this world and the next."

²⁵ *Germania* 23 (1939) 251-262.

²⁶ On the Gundestrup cauldron where the bull is subordinate to the deer and is accompanied by other animals such as dolphins, wolves etc.; the stele from Reims (fig. 13), and the relief in Luxembourg (Catalogue C, no. 7), both of which are late examples among monuments of Cernunnos' cult.

²⁷ See note 1. This study also includes catalogues of the pertinent monuments, but, since interpretation conditions the selection of representations in research of this kind, I have appended my own catalogue of Cernunnos images to this article. The relation of the three-headed Celtic god to Cernunnos will be clarified below.



FIG. 1. CERNUNNOS. CLUNY MUSEUM, PARIS.



FIG. 3. CERNUNNOS PLAQUE. GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON, COPENHAGEN.



FIG. 2. COPPER STATUETTE FROM BOURAY.
ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE (Lantier)



FIG. 4. RELIEF FROM VENDEUVRES.
CHATEAUX MUSEUM.

Among the representations of Cernunnos which belong in the realm of unadulterated Celtic art, and are therefore our most significant evidence for his original meaning, the rock carving of Val Camonica is unique.²⁸ It is the only known image of the divinity which can be dated in the first La Tène period and is also unparalleled in portraying him as a tall, draped figure standing in an *orans* pose. This primitive standing type does survive in a few isolated monuments of the Roman period, however.²⁹ Here at least two, and probably three, of his later characteristics are already clearly visible: the prominent antlers and a torque worn high on his right arm. Even more far-reaching in its implications is the blurred attribute appended to his left arm. This does not represent, as Jacobsthal believes,³⁰ a second torque together with a "bird," but a horned serpent. There can be no doubt about the interpretation if one consults the best photographs; the only question is whether the horns are those of a ram or not. In any case, this serpent foreshadows the ram-headed serpent which is a common adjunct to Cernunnos on Gallo-Roman monuments.

Beside the large divinity stands a much smaller nude figure with upraised arms and emphatic genitalia. The interpretation of this subsidiary figure as a worshipper seems justified,³¹ and in his phallic character lies a substantial clue to the nature of "the Horned One." In this instance Cernunnos would represent a god of fertility, not merely in an abstract sense of flourishing nature, but also in a specific reference to human fecundity and generation. We are, then, in the presence of an already developed concept which must have had its inception in worship of the stag as a symbol of abundance.³² The stag god is probably the result of anthropomorphization of an animal divinity whose origin is lost in the penumbra of the Celtic past, in the nomadic, aniconic existence before their arrival in Western Europe and North Italy.³³

There could be no more suitable animal chosen as a symbol of the generative forces of nature than this cervine creature that must have been of overwhelming economic importance to a forest-dwelling people. Even among the Greeks and Romans it is the stag or deer which is the sacred animal of Diana-Artemis, the goddess of

²⁸ Ht: 0.95 m. Altheim and Trautmann, *RM* 1939, pp. 1-13, pl. 1. Jacobsthal, *JRS* 28 (1938) 65-69 with bibl., pl. xi, 1; *Early Celtic Art* 1, p. 3; 2, pl. 217 a.

²⁹ See Catalogue A, nos. 6 and 7, Catalogue C, no. 4.

³⁰ *JRS* 1938, 65 f. Altheim (*op. cit.* 3 f.) refuted Jacobsthal and suggested a serpent instead; he did not mention the horns, however. For the clearest photograph, see Altheim and Trautmann, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3, 1937, fig. 3. The horns are there quite obvious.

³¹ *RM* 1939, 2.

³² For so-called totemism and theriolatry among the Celts, see Lambrechts, *op. cit.* 27, n. 5 (bibl.); also, Renel, *Les religions de la Gaule*, indices; Reinach, *Revue celtique* 1900, 269-306 (*Cultes, mythes et religions* [1905] 130-78).

³³ It must be noted here that there are advocates of a Paleolithic survival to explain Cernunnos, urging a connection with the Magdalenian painting in the cave, Trois Frères, which shows a sorcerer wearing the skin and antlers of a stag; cf. Lambrechts, *op. cit.* 163; MacKenzie, *Proceedings* 208. Dr. Alfred Salmons has suggested to me a modification of this theory: if it is accepted, one must assume that the antler motive lived on in the art of the steppe people, who carried it into China and at the same time bequeathed

it to the Celts. He has drawn my attention to scattered monuments which might bear out such an explanation. The Scythian burial at Pazirik in the Altai (Griaznov, *AJA* 37 [1933] 38 f., figs. 17-19) and the antlered horse masks discovered there would represent the same concepts as a wooden antlered demon from Chang-sha (J. H. Cox, *Exhib. of Ant. fr. Chang-sha* [Yale Univ. 1939] 4 f., fig. 1; cf. Mizuno, *Tôhō Gakuhō* [Kyoto, Oct., 1937] 238, fig. 7) or two gold "shaman" crowns from Silla in Korea with tree and antler decoration that indicates Siberian connections (Seoul Museum. Hentze, *Östasiat. Ztschr.* 19 (1933) 156-163 with bibl.). On the other hand, if there are definite connections between Scythian and Chinese stag symbolism and the ritual use of antlers, there still remains a formidable lacuna between the Paleolithic example, which is unique, and the art of the steppe nomads. The material seems too fragmentary to support the ideal diffusion outlined above, and for the Celtic phenomenon one can as well argue for an independent evolution, particularly when the wide incidence of antlered human masks in the Moundbuilder cultures of the United States (Kelemen, *Medieval American Art* 2, pl. 271a; Shetrone, *Mound-builders*, fig. 121) prove that peoples with similar environmental compulsions may achieve identical imagery.

woodlands and wild creatures as well as the patroness of women in childbirth.³⁴ Nilsson, in his study of the origin of the Christmas festival,³⁵ has shown that in the late antique period and in the early Middle Ages animal masking became a constant feature of the holiday, being confined significantly to Celtic lands. The chief animals imitated by the mummers were the stag, the calf, and the heifer (the two latter obviously of most importance to a settled people).³⁶ To this he adduces a quotation from a letter written by Abbot Aldhelm of Malmesbury in respect to the worship of stags in temples among the insular Celts: *ubi pridem eiusdem nefandae natrieis ernuli (sic) cervuli que cruda fanis colebantur, stoliditate in profanis, versa vice discipulorum gurgustia (imo almae oraminum aedes) architecti ingenio fabro conduntur.*³⁷ This zoomorphic background will become more explicit in the consideration of other early representations of Cernunnos.

When, after a long interval without preserved representations, the stag god once again appears in late La Tène art, his cross-legged pose has been crystallized, although he remains beardless. The famous interior plaque of a silver cauldron found at Gundestrup, Jutland (fig. 3)³⁸ shows him in the "tailors' seat." The hieratic

pose of his arms recalls the so-called *orans* attitude of the Val Camonica figure, as does the presence of two torques, one worn about his neck and the other held in his right hand. He has discarded his long chiton in favor of a close-fitting garment with long sleeves and short trousers. In his left hand Cernunnos holds the ram-headed serpent who is to be his frequent companion in the future; there is no longer any question as to the shape of his horns. Beside the divinity stands his archetype, a stag whose antlers are repeated in his own. Other smaller and less important animals—bulls, griffins, a hyena, and a dolphin ridden by a small, nude figure—are scattered through the field. Cernunnos is thus characterized as lord of the animals; only the bull and the stag survive in a limited number of Gallo-Roman monuments.

The most important problems raised by this repoussée plaque are the origin of the "posture accroupie" and the meaning of the ram-serpent. But it is first necessary to adduce a brief note on the date and provenance of this provocative work. The chronological range of the dates proposed for it encompasses ten centuries, from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.³⁹ There is no less variety in the theories concerning the location of the workshop which

³⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,³ 1, first chapters.

³⁵ *ARW* 19 (1916-19) 71-77.

³⁶ Proof that it is the stag who is most characteristic of this mummery is provided by Nilsson's texts, which express the custom as *cervulum et vetulum facere*, or in *cervulo et vetula valere*.

³⁷ Fl. second half of the seventh century. Migne, *Pat. lat.* 89.93.

³⁸ Copenhagen, National Museum (reconstructed). Discovered in 1891. Repoussé silver plaques of a votive cauldron 0.69 m. in diameter and 0.42 m. deep. There is a round plaque which formed the bottom of the vessel; its major element is a large bull, seen from above, whose free-standing horns (now lost) were inserted into the relief. There are five interior reliefs showing cult scenes and seven exterior plaques (an eighth is missing) which represent busts of gods and goddesses. The latter were gilded and had inlaid eyes of blue paste. For theories that these busts may be identified with the divinities of the days of the week, see below, pp. 37-38 and note 149. Reinach, *Rép.* 1, pp. 141-150. The best illustrations are to be found in W. A. von Jenny, *Keltische Metallarbeiten*, pls. 20-27, 1

(Cernunnos plaque, pl. 24). The plaques measure 0.21-22 m. by 0.24-26 m.

³⁹ Fourth to third century B.C.: C. Könen, *BonnJbb* 102 (1898) 160-162; followed by S. Loeschke, *Röm.-germ. Korrespondenzblatt* 3 (1910) 45.

Second century B.C.: Shetelig and Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937) 402.

First century B.C.: Drexel, *JdI* 30 (1915) 1-36. S. Müller, "Det storer Soelukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland," *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 2, 1892, dated it at the very end of the first century B.C.; later (*Nordiske Altertums-kunde* 2 [1898] 160-174) he decided upon the first or second century A.D.; finally, he reverted to his original position, placing it at the turn of the millennium in *Urgeschichte Europas* (1905) 167 f.

First century A.D.: Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois* 363-380; *RA* 1893, 1, pp. 283-291. Jullian, *REA* 10 (1908) 70-75. E. Cartailhac, *L'anthropologie* 5 (1894) 93-95 (probably beginning of our era, at the latest in the first century).

Second to third century A.D.: G. Kossinna, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 203-205; A. Voss, *Festschrift Adolf Bastian* (Berlin, 1896) 413; H. Hahn, *Das vorgeschichtliche*

produced the cauldron.⁴⁰ It is not possible to enter into detailed analysis of these diverse hypotheses. The conclusions of Friedrich Drexel are most acceptable and generally agreed upon today. Relationships to Pontic art pointed out by Drexel and Reinach⁴¹—although the latter insists upon a date in the early Middle Ages—and many obvious borrowings from both classical⁴² and Scytho-Sarmatian⁴³ art, establish that

the Celtic atelier responsible for this remarkable work was situated in the general area of the Black Sea, whence it would have been exported to the North. Certain internal details—for example, in one scene which represents a procession of warriors, the horsemen wear spurs, objects of material culture which did not come into use until the late La Tène period⁴⁴—preclude a dating before the late second or first century

Europa 71; Schumacher, *Verzeichnis der Germanen-Darstellungen* (Mainz, 1910) pp. 78-80, no. ph. 30; followed by F. Behn, *Mainzer Ztschr.* 7 (1912) 39. The foundation for these datings are a group of "Wochen-göttervasen" which have been dated in the third century A.D. If they are actually of that period, they follow the Celtic stylistic traditions seen in the Gundestrup vessel. The scholars listed here accept Müller's comparison with these later monuments, as well as his identification of the Gundestrup divinities with the days of the week. This scarcely seems valid in view of the original number of plaques (eight). Schumacher and Behn must resort to an "older prototype" to explain the purely Celtic objects of material culture represented.

5th to 6th century A.D.: Reinach has often insisted upon a Viking origin for the Gundestrup cauldron (see in particular *Revue celtique* 25 [1904] 208-224). He maintains that the elephants which flank one goddess (von Jenny, pl. 26) reflect late antique ivory diptychs and that the griffin type is very close to those in the Norman reliefs of Bayeux Cathedral. Reinach overlooks the fact that myriad steppe motives and stylistic details persisted for centuries in the art of the migrations, and thus found their way into Viking and even Romanesque art. I am grateful to Dr. Salmony for having made many demonstrations of such survivals clear to me.

For a summary of these attempts at dating the vessel, together with other less important references, see the excellent article by Drexel, *op. cit.* 2-3.

⁴⁰ Until the publication of Drexel's article, it was generally considered to have been produced in the region where it was found, Jutland. Following Müller, most scholars attributed it to the Cimbrians and their Germanic religion, despite such exclusive Celtic traits as the torques, to mention only one—Bertrand, *op. cit.* 283-291; Jullian, *loc. cit.*; R. Forrer, *Urgeschichte des Europäers* 547 f.

⁴¹ Drexel, *op. cit.* 12 ff. He suggests that the Scordisci may have been responsible for the work. Reinach, *Bull. archéol.* 1895, 41 f.

A. Voss (*op. cit.* 367-414) considered the cauldron a Pontic work, but attempted to relate it to the doc-

trines of Mithraism; O. Wulff, *Jahrbuch d. k. preuss. Kunstsamm.* 24 (1903) 214-241, follows this interpretation.

Drexel's theories are now generally accepted—cf. the handbook of Shetelig and Falk 189.

An interesting addition to the bibliography cited is the Buddhist interpretation of Japetus S. Steenstrup, *Kongeligt Dansk Videnskabernes Selskab Skrifter* (Række 6, Hist.-fil.-Afd.) 3, no. 4. He appears as a nineteenth century intellectual forerunner of MacKenzie.

⁴² Among the most obvious are the little figure riding a dolphin on the Cernunnos plaque, a group of "Hercules" fighting a lion, a winged horse, and a hippocamp, as well as one female divinity holding a bird who seems derived from an ancient Aphrodite type.

⁴³ Elements such as the pock-marked bodies of certain animals, the griffin's wings set on backwards, and striations in alternate directions. Celtic art is in general very rich in steppe elements, among them contorted animals with foliate lips, faceted planes, and technical peculiarities of gold filigree work, features absorbed by Celtic tribes which came in contact with the Sarmatians and were ultimately accepted by their kinsmen in the West. Again, I am indebted to Dr. Salmony for having pointed out to me many facets of this phenomenon.

⁴⁴ For example, in one scene which represents a procession of warriors (von Jenny, pl. 23), the horsemen wear spurs, objects of material culture which did not come into use until the late La Tène period—Drexel, *op. cit.* 7-8. The subject matter is another proof of the Celtic origin of the work, since it refers to a sacrifice to Teutates, the large priest thrusting a figure head down into a deep bowl seeming almost an illustration to the text of a scholiast on Lucan: *Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur; in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur*. Drexel (p. 11) also cites this passage, but does not discuss the problem of an incorrect identification with Mercury. In recent years it has become increasingly clear through inscriptions and monuments that Teutates is to be regarded as the Celtic equivalent to

B.C. On the other hand, those who see elements of the Middle Ages in the style cannot explain the survival of purely Celtic features of costume and equipment⁴⁵ by a persistent tradition of Celtic mythology. The most satisfactory dating is that educed by Drexel, from 100 B.C. to 50 A.D., with a preference for the earlier part of this period.⁴⁶

There have been many and varied discussions concerning the ultimate source of the "tailors' seat" and the explanation for the occurrence of the motive in Gallo-Roman sculpture. Exponents of a theory of purely autonomous development follow the argument of Robert Mowat⁴⁷ who, proposing the term "posture gauloise" to replace "posture indienne" or "boudhique" current in the nineteenth century, explained it as a fortuitous result of the fact, attested by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus,⁴⁸ that the ancient Gauls were accustomed to sit upon the ground rather than upon stools or chairs. He maintained that the adaptation of this national characteristic to Cernunnos was understandable within an

identification of the god with Dis Pater, mentioned by Caesar as the divine ancestor of the Celts.⁴⁹ In recent years Mowat has been followed by Jacobsthal,⁵⁰ by Lambrechts,⁵¹ and by Drexel,⁵² who imagines that a Greek artist created the Cernunnos image for the Celts, utilizing a posture which he associated with the "barbarians" as well as antlers borrowed from Actaeon, the Greek hero whose transformation into a stag is symbolized by this detail. Such transference from an alleged ethnological peculiarity cannot be accepted in art-historical terms, particularly when our catalogue indicates that the pose cannot be proved exclusive to Cernunnos or when one of the earliest representations of the god, the rock carving of Val Camonica, does not show it.

A group of modern studies carries on the nineteenth century researches of A. Bertrand,⁵³ who was the most vociferous advocate of direct or indirect influence from India, not merely confining this influence to the artistic realm⁵⁴ but seeing in the "Buddhist" pose an attitude

Mars. This assimilation of a native god to more than one Roman divinity is, however, typical for Gaul and Germany, as will be indicated below.

⁴⁵ Namely, in the procession of warriors, the carnyx, the horned helmets, and the shields—Drexel, p. 11. Bertrand utilized analogies with the armor reliefs on the arch at Orange as support for his theory of Cimbric origin for the Gundestrup vessel, studying the arms and claiming that only the Cimbrians continued to use this type, which was accepted by the Romans as Gaulish equipment *par excellence*—*RA* 1894, 1, pp. 152–169.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* 14–18. He compares three silver *phalerae* which he connects with the Temple of Artemis Tauropolus in Comana Pontica and with dedications by Mithradates Eupator. In the Vienna Hofmuseum is a fragmentary silver sheet from a find in Csora, Siebenbürgen. Other objects in the find suggest a date about the turn of the Christian era. The two figures represented on this piece bear some relation to the Gundestrup divinities (*ibid.* 8); the style is cruder, however, and cannot be used as an absolute chronological indication for the Gundestrup cauldron. Cf. Petersen, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 1893, 199–202.

⁴⁷ *Bull. épigr.* 1 (1881) 116; 3 (1883) 171 f.

⁴⁸ Strabo 4. 4. 3; Diodorus 5. 28. 4.

⁴⁹ At the end of the present article relationships to Dis Pater will be approached from an entirely different direction.

⁵⁰ *Early Celtic Art* 1, p. 6, citing H. Möbius *AM* 50 (1925) 47.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* 60.

⁵² *Rom.-germ. Komm. Bericht* 14 (1922) 20.

⁵³ *RA* 1880, 2, p. 31; *ibid.* 1882, 1, p. 322. Cf. H. Galimont, *Revue mensuelle de l'école d'anthropologie de Paris* 6 (1896) 45–50, who argues against Bertrand. In the main, he follows Mowat, but pleads for a more general term than his "posture gauloise."

⁵⁴ At about the same date, Gaidoz called attention (*RA* 1881, 1, pp. 193–300) to Bactrian coins of the first century B.C., on which King Maues and his successors are represented in the same cross-legged posture; these he offered as the numismatic mediators between India and Gaul. With the Bactrian examples he compared as a direct imitation the Celtic coin type already mentioned (see note 9), going so far as to accept the boar on the reverse as a barbarian degeneration of an elephant on the Bactrian prototypes! A similar and even more far-fetched explanation was offered by E. Fourdrignier, *Bull. d. l. soc. d'anthropologie de Paris* 10 (1899) 149–150, 160–162. For the Celtic coin he sought a prototype in coins of Caesar with an elephant raising its trunk. The Celts, he believed, made the elephant into a boar, taking his trunk and putting it into the field above him (the horned serpent!).

For the Bactrian coins, see A. von Sallet, *ZfN* 6 (1879) 165–231, 271–411. The type begins with Maues

perhaps required in certain mystery rites introduced into Gaul at some undetermined date.

Among more recent heirs to this line of investigation is G. Supka,⁵⁵ whose article on Buddhist motives in the art of the migrations period includes discussion of two of our monuments, a statuary group from Saintes (figs. 9-10) and a copper statuette from Bouray (fig. 2).⁵⁶ His comparison of the latter with a Gupta piece of 448 A.D. ("not much later") is a result of Supka's misunderstanding of the primitive character of provincial art for "Late Antique" abstraction. The Bouray statuette retains so much of pure La Tène style, particularly in the head with its hair combed down evenly in all directions from a central point and the swelling of the individual hatched locks,⁵⁷ that it cannot be dated very far into the Roman period.

The most impressive exponent of the theory of

Indian origin for the "tailors' seat" is Hans Berstl, who has traced an alleged westward diffusion of the "yogi motive" about the turn of the Christian era.⁵⁸ The most valuable contribution of his study has been a clarification of the role played by certain Graeco-Egyptian terracottas in the spread of the cross-legged pose into Gaul. Late Hellenistic and Roman figurines illustrate the use of this posture for "Klagfrauen,"⁵⁹ for female figures who often hold grapes and a pomegranate,⁶⁰ or for representations of Isis nursing Horus⁶¹ of which similar examples are known from ateliers in Gaul. Although all these terracottas belong in the realm of minor, and more or less folk art, it is entirely possible that the motive existed in more monumental art within the complex of the mystery cults of Demeter in Greece and of Isis in Egypt.⁶² Whether or not these Egyptian statu-

e. 100 B.C. (?) and culminates in the coins of King Kanishka. The pose seems to be a royal symbol until Kanishka's mintings appear with the representation of Buddha. Buddha was first represented anthropomorphically after the first century A.D., but many scholars, including Berstl, assume that his characteristic posture had its prototypes in figures of teachers and in the long history of the yogi pose for contemplation. The main art historical argument for these theories seems to be the "artistic intensity of later Indian monuments"—Berstl, *Jahrbuch d. asiatisch. Kunst* 1 (1924) 168. On the origin of the Buddha image, see Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926-27) 287-328, who reproduces all the coins in question. Coomaraswamy argues against the over-emphasis on Greek stimulation of Indian art as contained in the works of Foucher.

⁵⁵ *Monatshefte f. Kunstwiss.* 10 (1917) 217-237; pls. 24-32.

⁵⁶ This he compares with a Graeco-Buddhist work of "about" the first century A.D., a statuary group from Sahri-Bahlol which represents Kuvera, a god of wealth who holds a purse, and Hārītī, a goddess of plenty and of childbirth. The Indian sculpture does indeed bear a strong similarity, only one of the many striking analogies between Gallo-Roman art and the art of India for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered (cf. Foucher, "Le couple tutélaire dans la Gaule et dans l'Inde," *RA* 1912, 2, pp. 341-349). The chronological priority would appear to be with Gaul; Supka's lack of knowledge of Gallo-Roman art or its chronology invalidates his conclusions of Indian influence. Furthermore, he tortures not only chronology

but style as well in defining the Bouray statuette as a pasticcio which combines a Buddhist torso, carried from India into Gaul, with a "Gaulish" head (*op. cit.* 219-220. Cf. H. de Villefosse in *Mémoires d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 72 [1912] 246). There is nothing in this figure of the rich, amorphous plasticity of Indian sculpture, whereas the proportion of head to body, the flatness of the torso, or the patterned incision of buttocks and shoulder-blades can be closely paralleled in Celtic work.

⁵⁷ For the hair style, one may compare various decorative masks on La Tène vessels or appliqué plaques—Jacobsthal, *Celtic Art*, plates. One of the most salient characteristics of Celtic ornament is the plastic swelling of individual elements in precisely this manner.

⁵⁸ *Jb. asiat. Kunst* 1924, 165-190; pls. 99-106.

⁵⁹ One example cited by Berstl, in Frankfurt, bears a striking resemblance to the Celtic coin type already mentioned, with its hands raised to its hair. See Kaufmann, *Koroplastik*, pl. 37, fig. 297, p. 115. He calls it a "Kinder-orans" and states that the type, naked as well as clothed, appears in the Fayum from at least the beginning of the third century B.C.

⁶⁰ Weber, *Die ägypt.-griech. Terrakotten* (Berlin) pls. 22 f., nos. 219-20, 222-26, 228-29, 231, 233. These figurines seem to belong, in the main, to Roman times.

⁶¹ Berstl reproduces an excellent example (pl. 103, 3). Cf. J. Vogt, *Terrakotten . . . Samml. Ernst von Sieglin*, pt. 2, pl. VIII, 3-4. A similar type is used for Bubastis.

⁶² One recalls a small frieze in the House of the Dioscuri at Pompeii which shows Demeter seated in



FIG. 5. TRICEPHALIC GOD FROM CONDAT. BORDEAUX MUSEUM.



FIG. 6. BRONZE STATUETTE. BRITISH MUSEUM (Lantier)



FIG. 7. BRONZE STATUETTE. ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.



FIG. 8. TRICEPHALIC CIPPUS. REIMS.

composite serpent; in one instance he is associated with a god who holds the sacred cosmic wheel,⁸⁰ in another with a sacrifice and procession of warriors which relate to Teutates.⁸¹ Among Gallo-Roman monuments the same animal is twice represented with the Celtic Mars or a person in military dress,⁸² and several times as an attribute of Mercury.⁸³ He appears alone as an heraldic symbol on certain Celtic coins discovered in Württemberg, Bavaria, Saxony and Bohemia.⁸⁴ Forrer illustrates examples which indicate that the obverses of these concave, gold coins originally bore imitations of the likeness of Philip of Macedon, but that the portrait was gradually eliminated in successive castings.⁸⁵ In a monograph on the type written in the 1860's,⁸⁶ Streber classified the impressions known at that time, dividing them into seven major groups. In the first group belong those with the device of a large serpent coiled about the outer circumference of the coin, a serpent with the head either of a lion or, more usually, of a ram.

From these various advices it appears that the ram-serpent is an independent Celtic divinity or semi-divinity which may share in the cult of

several other gods. Its meaning is certainly to be sought in the chthonic sphere, since the snake is the animal *par excellence* of the underworld among myriad peoples and theological systems. It is also probable that in Gaul "the ram was associated as a sacrificial animal with the cult of fire on the hearth, and by an easy transition was connected with the cult of the dead there."⁸⁷ Ram figurines are found in ancient tombs and frequent among Celtic remains in Gaul are clay andirons which terminate in rams' heads.⁸⁸ The combination of ram and serpent is, then, an entirely logical syncretism which produced a chthonic emblem for the Celts. Its association with Cernunnos on the Gundestrup plaque is our first intimation of a second aspect of that divinity which will be fully elaborated in discussion of the monuments of the Roman period: his dominion over the world of the dead.

On the other hand, the ram's head probably has implications of fertility too. The ancient Greek reverence of the ram in Arcadia⁸⁹ and its adaptation as the cult animal of Hermes may be rooted in something deeper than mere animal husbandry. One wishes that Pausanias had felt

theon. The interpretation of the other figures is debated, however, and there is little justification for this assumption.

⁸⁰ von Jenny, pl. 25.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pl. 23. See above, note 44.

⁸² On the Mavilly altar cited above, and on a stele from Vignory in the Langres Museum (E IV, no. 3219). The latter is a very small relief (Ht: 0.43 m.; W.: 0.19 m.) which represents a male personage wearing a tunic and scaled skirt. He is crowned with a three-pointed diadem and holds a ram-headed serpent in his right hand. E. Flouest (*RA* 1884, 2, pp. 285-298) attempted to relate it to Mithraism, but there are no analogies for either the figure or its strange costume.

⁸³ The most explicit association occurs on an unusual relief in the Beauvais Museum (E V, no. 3919 with bibliography). On the main face stands a bearded Mercury, characterized by his winged petasos, purse and caduceus. On the lateral surfaces appear horned serpents, dolphins and pateras. The inscription is modern—de Ricci, *RA* 1899, 2, pp. 103 ff.; Reinach, *Catalogue*, . . . S. Germain 1926, p. 91, fig. 78.

⁸⁴ de Longpérier, *Oeuvres* 3, pp. 18-28; pls. 1-11 (*RevNum* 1863, 141-151). Note that one example from Gagers near Munich has the head of a deer seen frontally (*RevNum* pl. v, 22; Blanchet, *Traité* 446).

⁸⁵ *Kelt. Num.* pl. xxvi, p. 34, fig. 65. Streber (cf. *infra*) considered them independent of Macedonian coinage because their weight is not connected with that of Philip's staters. Longpérier, however, pointed out (*op. cit.* 22) that the weight is the same as the Roman aureus of the last two centuries of the Republic; this does not invalidate the artistic influence from Macedonia.

⁸⁶ "Überdiesogenannten Regenbogen-Schüsselchen," (*Abh. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.* IX, 1, 3, 1860-62). These were in former times the object of peasant superstitions; the belief that they were deposited from rain clouds at the moment when a rainbow appeared is reflected in the numismatic terms, *l'arc-en-ciel*, *scutellae iridis*, etc.

⁸⁷ MacCulloch, *Religion of Anc. Celts* 34 and 166 f.

⁸⁸ Déchelette, *RA* 1898, 2, pp. 63-81, 245-262. "Le rôle du bélier dans la religion des morts tend à faire assigner au serpent à tête de bélier une place parmi les divinités funéraires"—*ibid.* 261. The excavations of Mont Beuvray have provided evidence for sepulture beneath the hearth of dwelling places (cf. J. G. Bulliot, *Fouilles de Mont Beuvray*, 1, p. 396).

⁸⁹ Lamb, *Bronzes* 92. In Athens there is a bronze group from Methydriion which shows ram-shaped upright figures dancing in a circle—*AA* 1912, 38.

free to relate what he knew "of the story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram."⁹⁰ But there exist prophylactic reliefs showing Hermes with a phallus which terminates in a ram's head. One of these has been discovered in Delos.⁹¹ Another from Durazzo, in Albania, represents Hermes *phallophoros*. Picard has demonstrated⁹² that the earlier descriptions of this as Hermes carrying an enormous serpent slung over a staff balanced on his shoulder are incorrect. The "serpent" passes between his legs and is actually formed of the two parts of double genitalia, horned like the Delos example. Recalling the ithyphallic worshipper beside Cernunnos in the Val Camonica carving and anticipating Mercury's association with him on Gallo-Roman monuments, it is tempting to consider these concepts of fecundity as contributing factors in the formation of the Celtic ram-serpent.

From what source the Celts derived the particular iconography of this hybrid serpent remains obscure. In all likelihood it is to be added to the long list of motives from the art of the steppe peoples which were accepted by La Tène craftsmen. Those eastern nomads also disseminated certain artistic conventions into the Far East and it is, therefore, not too surprising to find the ram-horned serpent in the repertoire of the bronze-workers of the Chou period in China.⁹³ In the classical world one is reminded

of the Orphic literature which tells of the horned serpent Zagreus,⁹⁴ born of Persephone and Zeus and later rent by the Titans in his bull manifestation. His cult, eventually absorbed by the legends of Dionysos' birth,⁹⁵ was centered in the Thracian region with which the Celts living on the shores of the Black Sea were in close contact. The extraordinary reverence of the serpent and of the *orim anguinum* (as related by Pliny)⁹⁶ among the inhabitants of Gaul may be an independent development, but there is at least some possibility that their ram-headed serpent has connections with Greek mythology.

Consideration of pre-Roman representations of Cernunnos has permitted certain general conclusions concerning the origin of the god from a very ancient Celtic stag deity, although he was fully emancipated from this zoolatrous background by at least the fourth century B.C. It has been suggested that his characteristic cross-legged posture probably evolved from prototypes to be sought in the East Mediterranean world and which could have penetrated Gaul by two routes, through the Greek colonies of southern France, or through the Black Sea region where far-flung Celtic tribes maintained communication with their kinsmen in the West. The same limited monuments have shown that Cernunnos' primary interpretation is to be connected with the fertility of nature, generation of

⁹⁰ 3.3.3. τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῶ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω.

⁹¹ J. Chamonard, *BCH* 30 (1906) 589, fig. 37.

⁹² Picard, *Albania* 2 (1927) 24-27. The relief is in the Museum at Tirana. Ht: 1.80 m.; W: 0.60 m. Picard dates it "not before the epoch of the colony of Augustus." I have discussed this relief with M. Leon Rey, and owe to his kindness my knowledge of a bronze figurine for suspension in Naples which represents Hermes with double phallus and rams' heads as well as with pendant bells—C. F., *Musée royal de Naples, peintures, bronzes et statues érotiques du Cabinet secret* (Paris 1836) pl. XXIII, p. 27.

⁹³ I owe this information to Dr. Salmony. For one example, see Koop, *Chinese Bronzes*, pl. 8.

⁹⁴ Cf. Reinach, "Le serpent Zagreus et le serpent cornu celtique," *CRAI* 1899, 455; "Zagreus, le serpent cornu," *RA* 1899, 2, pp. 210-217. His theories that Zagreus was a horned serpent have been opposed by several scholars—see Schmidt, Roscher's *Lexicon* 6,

col. 535. But many texts speak of Zagreus as horned and indicate that Persephone and Zeus assumed the form of serpents during his conception. Nonnos, VI, 169 lists among the forms of Zagreus "ὄρακων ἐλελκτο κεράσσης." Classical references to Zagreus are collected in C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*.

⁹⁵ Might not the fact that Dionysos is frequently represented with ram's horns be taken as an indication that the little horns of Zagreus (Nonnos 6.165: *κερόεν βρέφος*), his prototype, were also those of a ram? The ram is important in the Sabazius and Cabiric cults of the same Thracian region; see the coins in Münzer and Strack, *Münzen von Thrakien*, pt. 1, p. 81, no. 132, pl. II, 25; p. 191, no. 378, pl. V, 16-17; p. 192, no. 379, pl. V, 18. For rams' heads on Bacchic sarcophagi, see Lehmann-Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi* 22 and note 32.

⁹⁶ Pliny, 29.12. The edition of Bostock (1856) has very complete notes to this passage.

the fruits of the earth and the fecundity of men and animals. On the other hand, in a process which can be paralleled in many religions, "the god, who had at first been earth itself, then a being living below the surface and causing fertility . . . became a divinity of the dead when the multitude of graves had become a wide subterranean region."⁹⁷ This is expressed through his association with the Celtic symbol of the cult of the dead, the ram-horned serpent. In the same manner, the Greek Pluto often retains emblems of control over the abundance of the soil in such attributes as the cornucopia.⁹⁸

To expand our knowledge of Cernunnos, the monuments from the first years of Roman hegemony in Gaul—from Caesar's conquest in 50 B.C. through the organization and consolidation by Augustus and his successors—should prove to be the least corrupt source of information after those of the La Tène period. The difficul-

ties entailed in dating Gallo-Roman sculpture, however, reduce the effectiveness of this approach. There are nevertheless certain works which may be placed in this era, since they represent a patent survival of Celtic traditions, and we are fortunate in possessing one securely dated monument about which other sculptures may be grouped. This is the "altar" in the Cluny Museum, already mentioned as our only evidence for Cernunnos' name (fig. 1).

The quadrangular block is one of four discovered together beneath the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris,⁹⁹ all of which are important sources for Celtic mythology, since they belong to a formative stage of classical syncretism, representing indigenous divinities in the company of Graeco-Roman ones. Dating of the entire group is based on close stylistic relationships among the reliefs¹⁰⁰ and analogies in the epigraphic rendering of the preserved inscriptions

⁹⁷ MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 345.

⁹⁸ For example: a relief in the Palazzo Albani representing Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune and two goddesses; Pluto carries a cornucopia and patera (Zoega, *Basirilievi* 1, pl. 1. See Scherer and Drexler, "Hades," Roscher's *Lexicon* 12, col. 1802. Cf. also a red-figured vase from Nola representing Pluto, Hebe and Eurydice, Pluto with a cornucopia filled with grapes—Lenormant and de Witte, *Cabinet de feu . . . E. Durand*, Paris, Feb. 1836, p. 60, no. 201.

⁹⁹ The initial publication, at the time of their discovery in the eighteenth century when the king wished to erect an altar and the canons of the church determined to move the crypt to the choir, is Baudelot de Derval, *Description des bas-reliefs anciens trouvez dans l'Eglise cathédrale de Paris* (Paris 1711). Éperandieu (IV.217) misquotes from this source concerning a "sixth" sculpture, actually the leg of a figure found with the four blocks.

The most important bibliographical items follow: Montfaucon, 2, 423 and pl. cxc, 1-4; J. G. Keyser, *Antiquitates selectae septentrionalis et celticae* (Hannover 1720) 366-377, pl. XIII (with an interesting eighteenth century philological discussion deriving the German name for the month of February, *Hornung*, from Cernunnos); Mowat, *Bull. épig.* 1 (1881) 23-31, 49-70, 111-129; 3 (1883) 130-136, 162-174; du Sommerard, *Catalogue . . . Cluny*, pp. 3 f., nos. 1-4; E. Desjardins, *Géographie hist. et administ. de la Gaule*, 3, 260-268; Jullian and Pachtère, *REA* 9 (1907) 263 f.; pls. XI-XIV; Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, 103-110, pls. XI-XV; Koepp, *BonnJbb* 125,

1919 (art. "Ogmios," Pls.). See our Catalogue C, no. 3.

There is great need for a monographic study of these monuments which would permit reconstruction of the whole. The correspondence in size argues against their being separate "altars," as they are called. An intensive study would establish correct inter-relations among the various figures also. I am grateful to M. Montremy, formerly director of the Cluny Museum, for having permitted me to examine the blocks at a time when the museum was still closed and in war-time disruption, although protective coverings prevented a detailed study. Since each block is sculptured on all sides, it is impossible to combine them in a reconstruction unless it be one atop another. There seem to be shallow holes in the center of their rough upper surfaces which would indicate that something was fixed on top of them. I have considered the possibility of their being column postaments from the sanctuary which must have existed on the spot. Mowat (*op. cit.* 27) compared the situation of the sanctuary at the "prow" of the Ile de la Cité with the position of a Mercury temple at the point of the island on which ancient Melun was built, also superseded by a church dedicated to Notre-Dame.

¹⁰⁰ In profile figures the eyes are consistently rendered in full view, as in Egyptian art; the figures are allowed to expand beyond their frames; the head types are very similar throughout and every bearded figure shows a sharp demarcation of this feature from full cheeks above; in many figures a peculiar drapery pattern appears which, in a two-dimensional sense,



FIG. 9. STATUARY GROUP FROM SAINTES.
ST-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.



FIG. 10. RELIEF ON REVERSE OF STATUARY
GROUP FROM SAINTES.

with a long dedication inscribed on one of the four stones. In rather halting Latin this records the dedication by *Nautae Parisiaci* to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to the emperor Tiberius.¹⁰¹ The remaining three faces of this key block form artistically one unit, with a procession of

armed figures carrying a large "torque" (the size rather suggests a *cornu*) to Tiberius.¹⁰²

The second of the stones is in the best condition, bearing fully preserved and labeled figures of *Iovis*, *Esus*, *Taurus Trigaranus* and *Volcanus*.¹⁰³ The third has a pair of divinities on each

resembles plaiting; all display a very plastic but non-skeletal modelling, and the arms may be bent into impossible gestures as if constructed of rubber; finally, the postures of *Esus* and *Smerullos* are the same.

¹⁰¹ *CIL*, XIII 3026c: TIB(erio) CAESARE (sic) AVG(usto), IOVI OPTVMO MAXSVMO [su]M[ma?], NAVTAE PARISIACI PVBLICE POSIERVN[T].

¹⁰² Above the armed figures carrying the large circlet appears the inscription, EVRISES; above other figures in long draperies appears SENANI VSEILONI////. Since there are six of the former, three bearded and three clean-shaven, Mowat (*op. cit.* 54) suggested that they represent junior and senior *Seviri Augustae*; their name he related to the Celtic *ieuru*, expressing the votive idea. At Lyon the corporation of *Nautae* provided also the *Seviri* who presided in the emperor cult—Grenier, *Manuel d'archéol. gallo-romaine*, 2, 554. For the distinction between *Naviculari* and *Nautae* as well as the organization of the *collegia*, cf. Bonnard, *Navigaton intérieure de la Gaule*, 174 ff. For the relation between the *Nautae Parisiaci* and the Gallo-Roman baths of the Cluny Museum, see *ibid.*

90 and the recent study of the ship-prow consoles by P.-M. Duval, *Gallia* 5, 1 (1947) 123–142. It is entirely possible that the baths are part of a larger complex, the *Schola* of the corporation.

¹⁰³ Both *Esus* and *Taurus Trigaranus* present many problems of interpretation. They merit a separate study which cannot be undertaken here. *Esus*, according to one scholiast on Lucan, is equivalent to the Roman Mercury—see Ihm, *RE* 6 cols. 694–696. Lehner, in a discussion of a votive monument from Trier (cf. below, n. 105) accepts the identification with Mercury. As Ihm points out, however, the main relief of the Trier stone with *Esus* on one side represents Mercury and Rosmerta; it is unlikely that the same god would appear twice. On the other hand, *Esus* might have some connections with one specific function of Mercury. Mowat considered him as a form of Silvanus, because he is shown hewing a tree (*op. cit.* 62–65). The divinity may be one of the many ill-defined Celtic gods who created so much difficulty for Roman assimilation, possibly sharing certain aspects with each of the suggested counterparts, Mars,

face, but is very badly damaged. Of the block which holds most interest for our particular problem only the upper half is extant. On one face appears Cernunnos, clad in a tunic and with two large torques hanging from his antlers. He is, in addition, provided with two prominent cervine ears placed above normal ones. For the first time he is characterized as an old man, heavily bearded and partially bald, an aspect which becomes increasingly emphasized during the Roman period in keeping with the classical conception of a divinity of the underworld. In this instance, however, one cannot be certain of the presence of a ram-serpent, since it would have appeared on the missing portion of the stone. From the larger proportions of Cernunnos in relation to the figures of the remaining three faces, it has been correctly assumed that the divinity could have been portrayed only in the "tailors' seat."

On two adjacent sides of the stone the Dioscuri¹⁰⁴ of normal classical type are depicted; the inscription *Castor* over one of them has been preserved. On the fourth face, at Cernunnos'

Mercury or Silvanus.

The bull with three cranes is equally enigmatic. The most reasoned explanation of the bull is that of Loeschke, *Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*. In the sanctuary of *Mercurius Peregrinorum* was discovered a large statue of a bull standing over a man reclining between his forelegs. The base is decorated with two large fish and a "nymph" stands beside him. Loeschke believes him to be a river-god and connected with *Tauros Trigaranus*, a companion of the "Handels-gott" Esus. This would explain his association with Mercury in his specific aspect of a commerce divinity. The three cranes have never been satisfactorily explained. The complex theorizations of Arbois de Jubainville deserve mention here, however, since they are frequently quoted in consideration of a tricephalic divinity often assimilated to Cernunnos (see below, pp. 34-42). In *Cycl. myth.* he explained that Cernunnos, when represented as a three-headed being, embodies the Gaulic triad Teutates, Esus, Taranis (corresponding to the Irish Bress, Balar, Tethra), in other words his sons. *Tauros Trigaranus*, he reasoned (p. 385), is the double of Cernunnos and corresponds to a bull in the herd of Geryon. Then, through the faulty etymology of the Celts, Geryon became three cranes in their imagery instead of a figure with three bodies.

¹⁰⁴ The connection with Cernunnos is vague, since the brothers do not appear in his company on other

left, a Celtic divinity again appears: a nude, bearded figure seen in semi-profile, his right arm bent awkwardly grasping a large club which he wields against a snake at the right. The accompanying inscription has been severely damaged, but from old drawings and careful observation most scholars agree that it reads: *Smert[ull]os*. On one of the companion blocks there is an intimate connection between the two Celtic divinities on adjacent sides in contrast with two Graeco-Roman gods. Esus and the bull with three cranes are certainly regarded as correlative images there, and this is confirmed by a votive monument in Trier¹⁰⁵ which shows Esus cutting down a tree in whose branches the same three birds and a large bull's head are placed. Since *Smertullos* and Cernunnos are probably grouped together in the same manner, it is necessary to dwell briefly on the significance of the former.

Many interpretations of *Smertullos* have been offered. Arbois de Jubainville originally considered him as a form of Mercury, a god of light slaying the ram-serpent who belongs to Cer-

preserved monuments. Like *Smertullos*, (i.e., Hercules?—cf. *infra*) their general funerary character in no way weakens the chthonic interpretation of Cernunnos. Certain Germanic tribes worshipped divine twins, the Alci, whom Tacitus likened to the Dioscures (*Germania* 43, speaking of the Naharvali). Diodorus says that the Celts living on the shores of the ocean placed the Dioscures among their most prominent gods, and said they came with the Argo (4.56.4). F. Chapoutier (*Les Dioscures aux service d'une déesse* 264, n. 5) relates to this the notation of Strabo on the Samothracian ceremonies of the Bretons (4.4.6). In view of our subsequent discussion of Cernunnos' partner, an earth goddess who might be compared to Demeter, and of ramifications of his cult which include that of the Matres, it is interesting to cite Chapoutier's statement concerning the cult of Cybele and the Dioscures in Gaul: Cybele there took the place of the Matres, the protectors of curative springs—*op. cit.* 240; corroborated by an inscription from Agathe: *Ἀδρη Μητράσι καὶ Διοσκόροι[s]*.

¹⁰⁵ E. VI, no. 4929 with bibl. H. Lehner, *Korrespondenz-Bl. d. Westdeut. Ztschr.* 15 (1896) 33-49, no. 19. The inscription below Mercury and Rosmerta is a dedication by a member of the *Mediomatrici*, refuting an earlier suggestion once made by Reinach that Esus is merely a local divinity of the *Esvii* residing around Paris.

nunos, the god of "night, death and of evil."¹⁰⁶ But there is no evidence that the serpent is ram-headed, and we have already shown objection to this interpretation of Cernunnos as a divinity of night and evil; Celtic gods of the underworld were not considered harmful or evil, since their realm seems to have been regarded as a fertile region of light, not a gloomy Hades.¹⁰⁷ Later, the same author, in his zealous efforts to coordinate the religion and mythology of Ireland with that of the continent, suggested an equation of Castor with Cuchulainn, called Esus on the continent and in this one instance, Smertullos; likewise Pollux is the second divine brother of Ireland, Conall Cernach or the mainland's Cernunnos.¹⁰⁸ Such an acrobatic correlation is not acceptable. Esus and Smertullos cannot be the same person, although the sculptor of these stones, being called upon to represent two divinities in similar action—the one striking a serpent, the other hewing a tree—chose to render both in the same pose which derives from the classical formula for Hercules slaying the Hydra. Indeed, the most convincing identification of Smertullos is with Hercules, as suggested by Koepp in his study of Ogmios.¹⁰⁹ It is difficult, however, to define the *rapport* between him and Cernunnos. Hercules frequently has funerary significance, and we shall meet him again within the circle of our "dieu accroupi."¹¹⁰ As a further tentative note, one may call attention to a stele from Meaux¹¹¹ on which a similar figure is shown in combat with a snake. Between his legs appears an enigmatic head, larger than that of the god, which seems to represent one of the tricephalic divinities often assimilated to Cernunnos.

Although the Cluny Museum sculptures may thus be drawn into the general line of interpretation that has been established for Cernunnos, they cast little new light upon it. The only novel feature is the acceptance of a more classical, bearded physiognomy which is to become in-

creasingly characteristic for the divinity during the course of Gallo-Roman art. The real importance of these reliefs lies in their being precisely dated in the period of Tiberius and in their stylistic analogies with a more informative monument, the so-called Altar of Saintes (figs. 9-10).¹¹² Lothar Hahl, in his valuable dissertation which establishes a stylistic framework for the dating of provincial sculpture, has already placed this group in relation to a series of seated figures from the same site.¹¹³ According to his chronology, the group exemplifies a development from early Flavian to late Flavian-Trajanic style, and our divine couple stands at the beginning of it. He notes that the headdress of the goddess seems to have been affected by the Claudian "Zopf-schleife." In view of this detail and of a peculiarity of drapery-rendering which this sculpture shares with the Paris blocks—a sort of interlocking, plaited pattern—I should be inclined to place it even closer to the period of Tiberius.

As with so many problematic monuments in our catalogue, the Saintes "altar" denies us positive identification of its "dieu accroupi," since the head of the god is destroyed. This is also true of the smaller relief on the back of the figures. Nevertheless, the presence of three of Cernunnos' attributes, cross-legged posture, torque and purse, together with the accompanying goddess whose cornucopia places her within a fertility realm, permits an identification with that divinity. What is more, the shape of the break above the head of the smaller representation actually preserves traces of antlers (the tip of the left one still remains).

The Saintes sculpture introduces the anonymous goddess who is Cernunnos' female partner. Although in this instance she does not seem to have had antlers, our catalogue contains three independent bronze statuettes of her with that attribute.¹¹⁴ In all of these the cross-legged pose and antlers are prominent indices of the close

¹⁰⁶ *Cycl. myth.* 382 f. Cf. Steuding, "Atusmerius, Adsmarius," Roscher's *Lexicon*, 1st, col. 727.

¹⁰⁷ MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 60.

¹⁰⁸ *RA* 1900, 1, pp. 66-74.

¹⁰⁹ *BonnJbb* (1919) 56. Cf. also, Mowat, *op. cit.* 117.

¹¹⁰ See the Saintes "altar," Catalogue B, no. 3, and below, p. 33. For Hercules as a fertility divinity, see Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lexicon*, 1st, col. 2157 f.;

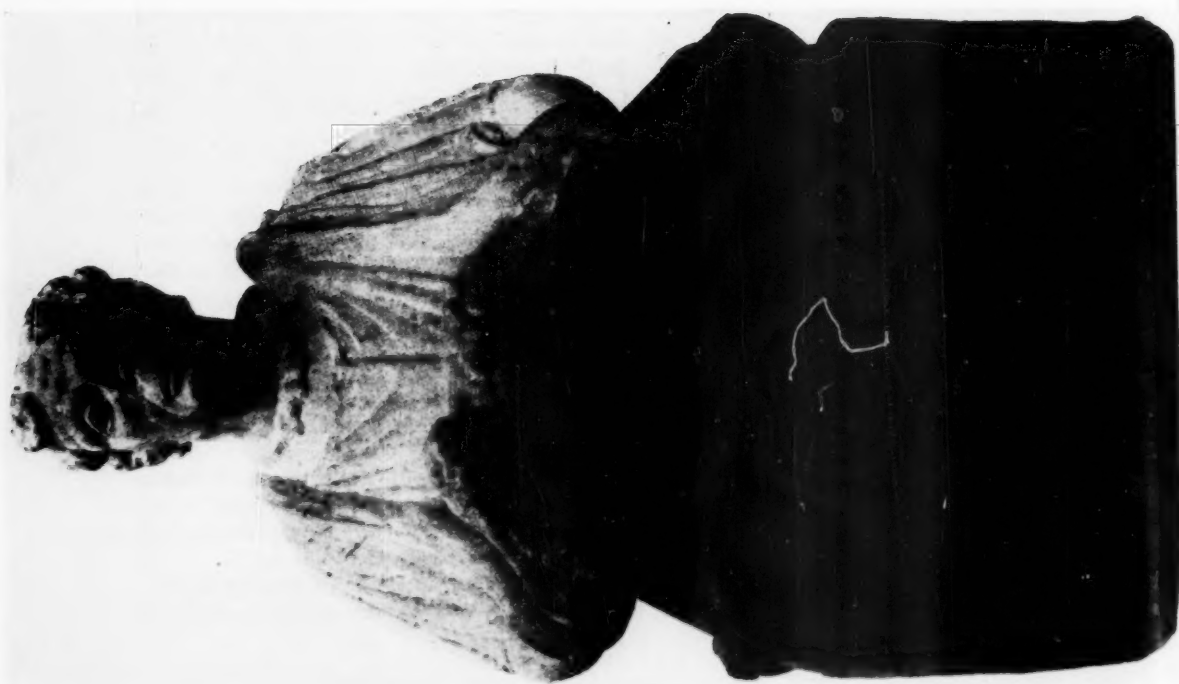
also P. L. Williams, *Statues on Coins of South Italy* 5 f. and notes.

¹¹¹ E IV, no. 3212 with bibl. Museum of Meaux. This is called "Hercules fighting the Hydra."

¹¹² In addition to Bertrand's monograph, see Gas-sies, *REA* 9 (1907) 364-368.

¹¹³ *Stilentwicklung der provinziälröm. Plastik*, 45 f.

¹¹⁴ Catalogue A, nos. 3-5.



relationship between herself and the "horned one." The bronzes consistently portray the cornucopia attribute, the one in the British Museum (fig. 6) and that published by Montfaucon supplementing it with a patera. At Saintes her secondary attribute is recognizable as a bird. A small female figure standing at her knee holds the same objects,¹¹⁵ which obviate the possibility that she might be a worshipper, and show that she must be regarded as a daughter goddess.¹¹⁶ The whole constellation recalls nothing so much as the Greek divinities, Pluto, Demeter and Kore. In fact, we shall discuss evidence which suggests that a classicizing syncretism is already at work upon this group, and that the artist was aware of a basic similarity between the Celtic and the Hellenic "triads." Yet the entire emphasis is upon fertility, expressed by means of the purse, cornucopia and dove(?), and not upon chthonic aspects. The obscure allusion to Hercules on the reverse is comparable to the Cluny "altar," and may also imply fertility.

An analogous couple of approximately the same date, two statues from Sommerécourt (figs. 11-12),¹¹⁷ provide the chthonic symbolism which is suppressed in the Saintes group. The female figure is again seated normally, but her cornucopia, the cross-legged pose of her companion, and the antlers which were originally attached to his head¹¹⁸ identify them sufficiently. Both figures hold vessels in which they offer nourishment to three ram-headed serpents. Two of these representatives of the underworld entwine the body of Cernunnos, the goddess having only one. In addition, the pomegranate (?) which she holds¹¹⁹ would be specific evidence

that *interpretatio romana* had affected the artist and that we are justified in recognizing divinities who parallel those of the Eleusinian mysteries in certain respects.

Before turning to representations of Cernunnos from later Imperial times, it is necessary to consider a parallel development indicated by a problematic statuette from Bouray, mentioned previously in connection with the questions of Indian influence upon the "pose accroupi." This figure (fig. 2)¹²⁰ cannot be proved to represent Cernunnos, although it must belong to his religious ambit; this and other images of doubtful identity included in our catalogue may well have been intended as priests of the cult. In this instance, strong preservation of typical features of La Tène style favors the conclusion that the work cannot date after the first century A.D.¹²¹ One might compare the head with those attached to the Aylesford bucket¹²² for general similarity of shape, as well as for such features as the extremely low forehead, the treatment of nose and brow as one plastic unit, or the rendering of the lips by two sharp planes set at an angle to one another. Again, several small bronze heads found at Welwyn, Hertfordshire,¹²³ although of different type, display an analogous hatched stylization of eyebrows and lashes; and the eyes of blue and white paste maintain a technique seen on the exterior panels of the Gundestrup cauldron.

The value of this statuette from Bouray lies not in any intrinsic iconographical interest, but in its stylistic relationship with a work whose interpretation produces startling ramifications, a

¹¹⁵ It is perhaps the same goddess who flanks the horned god on the reverse of the monument. The bases under those relief representations suggest that the three figures depict statues which perhaps stood in the sanctuary, although this would not preclude, of course, an underlying logic in their combination.

¹¹⁶ Gassies (*op. cit.* 365) regarded her as a local emanation of the Mother goddess, perhaps a small fountain.

¹¹⁷ Catalogue B, nos. 1-2. In addition to the bibliography cited there, see De Caumont, *BMon* 17 (1851) 307 for an identification of the goddess as Nehalania; Reinach, *Cultes* 1, 68; Flouest, *RA* 1884, 2, pp. 41 f., pls. II-III. The style of these two figures

is extremely significant for problems of Romanesque dependence upon local Gallo-Roman works. Hahl (*op. cit.* 44 f.) places the goddess in early Imperial times, i.e. pre-Flavian.

¹¹⁸ Notice that the head is still faithful to the beardless tradition.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Bertrand, *RA* 1884, 2, p. 302.

¹²⁰ Catalogue A, no. 10. Cf. above, p. 22.

¹²¹ Cf. Lantier, *MonPiot* 1934, 50-52.

¹²² Smith, *British Mus., Guide . . . Early Iron Age*, fig. 135; Ebert, 1, pl. 26a.

¹²³ Smith, *op. cit.* pl. xi. Close analogies are also to be found in the heads on certain silver discs in Brescia—Jacobsthal, *ECrA*, pl. 53, no. 84.

bronze figurine from the vicinity of Autun (fig. 7)¹²⁴ which will enable us to trace an important development of the Cernunnos cult from at least the first century A.D. Here the awkward junction of head and body seems a translation from the Bouray type of figure with separate head formed for insertion into the torso. Also, the rendering of the hair and tendency to patternize are so close to the latter that the two statuettes must belong to the same period.

Not only does the Autun bronze reveal all the characteristics which we have come to associate with Cernunnos: cross-legged pose, antlers (the holes for their insertion are clear), sacred torques, and even the ram-headed serpents (in this case with fish-tails), but two secondary faces placed above the divinity's ears, not visible in our illustration, announce entirely new avenues of research. Numerous monuments in Gaul acquaint us with a tricephalic god whose ambiguous character has occasioned much archaeological discussion and various conflicting theories. It is obvious that this being is here assimilated to Cernunnos, the Autun statuette thus becoming a key monument in the determination of his significance as in the enlargement of our vision of the stag god. Nor is this a unique syncretism. A bust of a statue found in Dordogne (fig. 5)¹²⁵ shows essentially the same combination, save that the three heads are of equal size and therefore even more prominent.

Wide interest in the tricephalic god of Gaul

first arose after the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of the publication of a group of monuments found in Reims. These have the form of quadrangular cippi or colonettes and there are now about twelve examples known from that city (fig. 8)¹²⁶ where, it is interesting to note, one of the most grandiose monuments of the Cernunnos cult was unearthed (fig. 13). There are minor variations among these sculptures, but the most usual disposition gives a relief of three bearded faces—a frontal one flanked by two profiles—united by a single pair of huge eyes, with the block surmounted by a representation of a ram's head and of a bird which is most probably a cock. At first numismatists connected these busts with certain early coins of the Remi the obverses of which depict three profile heads, placed one behind the other in pseudo-perspective recession, and thought of some specifically local divinity.¹²⁷ This view was soon challenged,¹²⁸ and rightly, since each bust on the coins has its own comma-shaped shoulder. In addition, the existence of identical monuments in other provinces of France precludes any geographical limitation of the type.¹²⁹

Robert Mowat was the persistent champion of a theory, in complete contrast to the interpretation which would see an indigenous divinity in the tricephalic figures, that there is nothing "Gaulish" in any of them unless it be the "barbarian crudity" of execution.¹³⁰ The monuments were, he argued, merely provincial trans-

¹²⁴ Catalogue A, no. 1.

¹²⁵ Catalogue B, no. 4.

¹²⁶ E V, no. 3651-2, 3654-9, 3661, 3751 with bibliography. Many of the heads are laureate. For an example found in 1925 at Soissons, see Blanchet, *CRAI* 1930, 199 f. (interpretation as tricephalic Mercury), E XI, no. 7700; R. Louis, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1938, 160 ff.

¹²⁷ E. Hucher, *RevNum* 1853, pp. 15 f., pl. 1, 4; *Idem. RevNum* 1863, 58 f.; Duquenelle, *Congrès archéol. Reims*, 1861, 75. Cf. Reinach, *BF* 189. For a clear illustration of the coin, see Blanchet, *Manuel de num. fr.* 1, p. 66, fig. 111.

¹²⁸ For the bibliography and analysis of diverse theories, see Blanchet, *Traité* p. 380, no. 131.

¹²⁹ Note the following independent examples: (1) E II, no. 1055. Musée de Dax. A white limestone tablet from Auch (Gers). Both the frontal face and the one extant profile are beardless, but a separate

bearded head appears at the right. (2) E III, no. 2668. Lyon Museum. Sculpture said to be from Nîmes (Gard). (3) E IV, no. 3287. Langres Museum. A bearded "head" found in the city (Haute-Marne). One head has spiral horns. (4) E V, no. 3762. Laon Museum. Block from Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne). The faces are arranged so one appears on each of the three sides of the block. (5) E VI, no. 4729. Very damaged fragment from Sommeville (Marne). Generally speaking, only the Reims type unites three faces with a single pair of eyes. However, the distribution of these examples as well as such sculptures as the Bordeaux Cernunnos etc., argue against Lambrechts' regional manifestations of one god in the tricephalic, the cross-legged and the ram-serpent divinities (*op. cit.* 51 ff.).

¹³⁰ *RA* 1876, 1, p. 60, a note addressed to Longpérier, who adds that there are very good reasons why scholars have not recognized Janus Quadrifrons: the fact

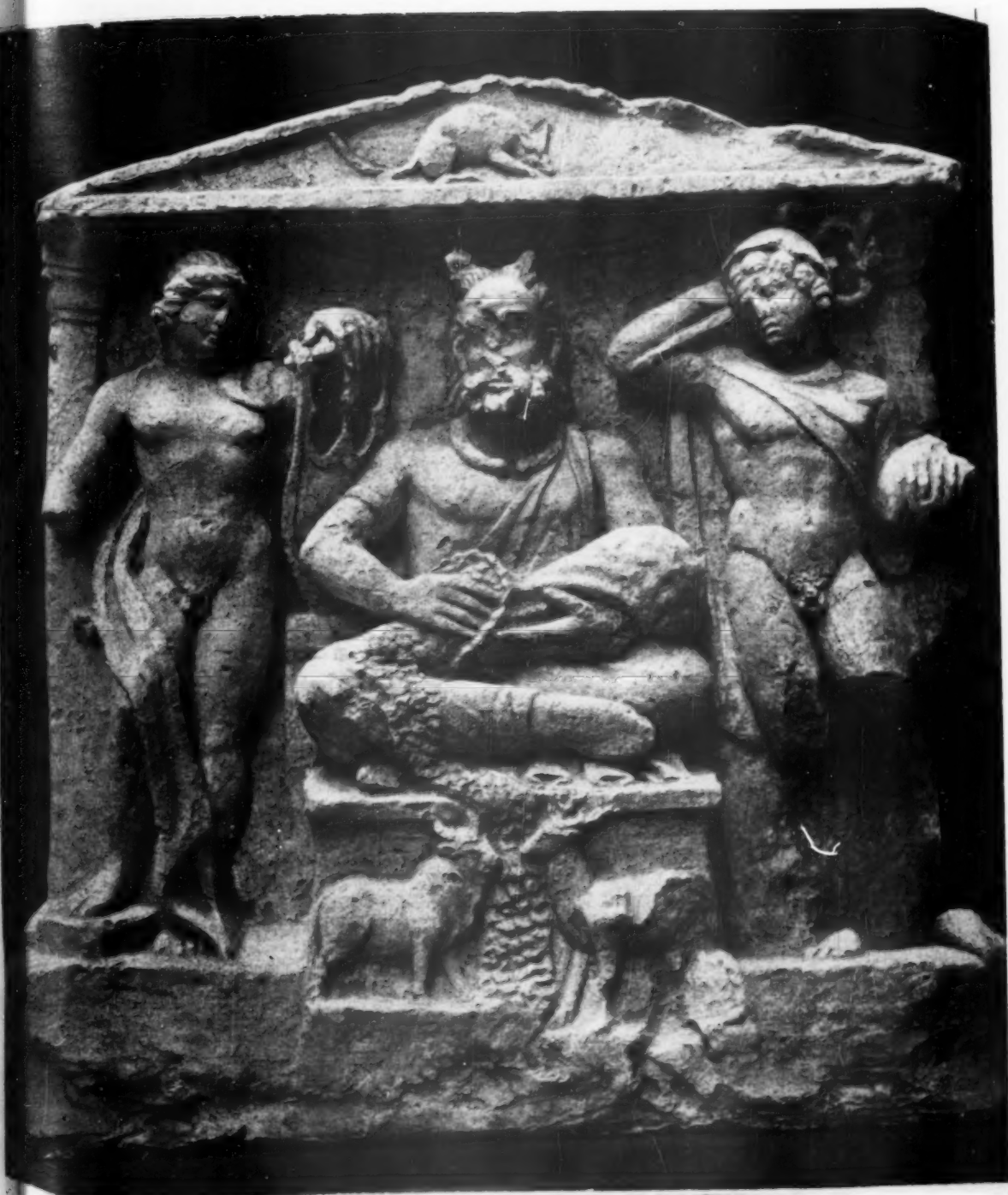


FIG. 13. CERNUNNOS STELE. REIMS MUSEUM. (Cliché Giraudon).

lations of the Roman Janus Quadrifrons, whose fourth face was not executed either because it was not possible in relief technique or, in full round examples, because the fourth side was meant to be placed against a wall. In the face of much natural opposition, Mowat later elaborated his theory,¹³¹ adducing as the model a Hadrianic coin type which represents Janus with three faces. It is not detrimental to this hypothesis of foreign importation that there are no tricephalic figures preserved from La Tène times in Gaul, although double figures are frequent among the rare examples of Celtic stone sculpture.¹³² But a three-headed stone from Corleck, Cavan,¹³³ belongs to a collection of "Gaulish" idols in Ireland of the first century B.C. and proves that the absence of such on the continent is probably fortuitous. In any case, there is no possibility that the three-headed representations of Gallo-Roman art are nothing more than misunderstood adaptations of a Latin phenomenon. Provincial

quadricephalic sculptures¹³⁴ indicate that this particular classical formula was known, but differentiated from the one under discussion. However, subsequent consideration will show that in special aspects there is a possibility of collateral influence from Graeco-Roman sources. Finally, Mowat's theory would not explain the affiliation of the *triceps* with Cernunnos, an alliance which will be further explored below.

Another theory, propagated mainly by Reinach,¹³⁵ has gathered so many adherents that Éperandieu can state apropos of one of the Reims monuments: "Le Tricéphale est le dieu indigène que César identifia au Mercure romain."¹³⁶ Reinach based his interpretation upon the evidence of a relief in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris.¹³⁷ This relief is carved on one face of a block of stone excavated with three companion pieces at the site of the Hôtel Dieu, all of which scholars consider contemporary with the sculptures from Notre-Dame.¹³⁸ It represents a tri-

that in the full round examples there are still only three heads, and the evidence of the Autun statuette. Mowat's thesis was a revival of an opinion previously expressed by P. Paris, *Congrès archéol.* 1861, 85: is it not Janus whose figures represent the past, present and future?

¹³¹ *Bull. ép.*, 1, pp. 29-30; 3, pp. 168-170. In the latter pages he quotes a passage from Macrobius concerning a typical gesture of Roman Janus figures (*Saturn.* 1.9): *inde et simulacrum ejus plerumque fingitur, manu dextra trecentorum, et sinistra sexaginta et quinque numerum tenens ad demonstrandum anni dimensionem*. Mowat claimed that a tricephalic divinity on a relief from Dennevy (see below, p. 40, n. 174) makes such a symbolic gesture, but it is impossible to distinguish any such dactylogy.

¹³² See Jacobsthal, *ECA* 16 and plates.

¹³³ F. Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* 6, pl. 3d.

¹³⁴ For example: (1) Cippus of Niederkerschen, Luxemburg, cited by Mowat, *op. cit.* 3, p. 171. This consists of four heads, alternately bearded and clean-shaven, surmounting a column. (2) Bronze statuette from Bordeaux in the Bibliothèque nationale. Ht: 0.095 m. Babelon-Blanchet, *Catalogue* p. 158, no. 362; Blanchet, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1895, 86 f. The figure is a nude, standing Mercury, identified by the purse in his right hand and wings on his main head. The front and back faces are beardless, while those at the sides are bearded. It is a question how

much of this conception is dependent upon classical tradition. For assimilation of the *triceps* to Mercury cf. *infra*.

¹³⁵ *Rev. de l'hist. des religions* 1907, 57-82 (*Cultes* 3, 160-185).

¹³⁶ Vol. V, p. 12, under no. 3661.

¹³⁷ E IV, no. 3137 with bibl. Ht: 0.96 m.; W: 0.55 m.; th: 0.61 m. This and its companion pieces were excavated in 1867; for notice of discovery, see Longpérier, *CRAI* 7, 1871, 20 Oct., p. 379.

¹³⁸ For discussion and possible reconstructions, see Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* 105 f., note 3, pl. XIII, 1-5; Mowat, *op. cit.* 1, 27-30; Blanchet, *Bull. d. l. soc. de l'histoire de Paris* 36 (1909) 201-205; Krüger, *Annales du XXI^e Congrès archéologique*, Liège, 1909, 123-137, pl. VI. The Mercury figure is set into a surface which is imbricated; one adjacent face of the block bears a relief of a putto with the large helmet of Mars. One face of each remaining block is covered with imbrications, the adjacent faces bearing a putto with greaves, another with a sword and a third with a shield, respectively. There is general agreement on a reconstruction as some type of pedestal or base. Since the subject matter involves the Disarmament of Mars, most scholars assume that the tricephalic image is in some manner connected with that divinity. There is a strong discrepancy in style, however, between the three-headed Mercury and the lively putti, and it seems—particularly since the imbrications are sharply interrupted to form his

cephalic figure who can be identified with Mercury by virtue of certain attributes peculiar to that divinity in provincial sculpture: a purse held in his right hand over the head of a reclining goat, a large turtle in one corner, and, less typical, the head of a ram grasped in his left hand.

Closely united with Reinach's argument is the problem of a number of so-called "planetary vases" discovered at sites in Belgica.¹³⁹ The most important of these is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris and is said to come from Bavay (Nord) which seems to have been a center of their production.¹⁴⁰ The shoulder of this vase is ornamented with seven busts, one of which is our enigmatic "tricephale," bearded and furnished with horns. Because of their number, Babelon did not hesitate in his catalogue to identify these busts with the divinities of the week.¹⁴¹ His interpretation has been challenged only by Reinach¹⁴² who refused to accept it because it would present grave objections to his own theory that the tricephalic divinity is to be connected with Mercury. For with two female busts, separated by two male heads, which must correspond in Babelon's scheme to Friday and Monday, the three-headed god is resolved as the

Celtic equivalent of Mars. All other scholars who have discussed the Bavay vase or similar ceramic products concur in the opinion that the busts represent the potter's substitution for the Roman divinities of the week those of his national gods whom he identified with them.¹⁴³ Yet all is not well, since they fall into difficulty when they would apply the formula to other "Wochengöttervasen." Some are fragmentary and raise no problem.¹⁴⁴ But another vase from Jupille, near Liège, can be arranged only so that the tricephalic figure (who is, indeed, destroyed) becomes Saturn if he is present at all.¹⁴⁵ Again, a third complete vase in Cologne has but six busts;¹⁴⁶ compensating for the "potter's omission," the most satisfactory scheme shows that the three-headed bust is Mercury.¹⁴⁷

Actually, there is good reason to believe that the tricephalic god was assimilated to more than one Roman deity.¹⁴⁸ However this may be, I am convinced that the evidence of the vases as a whole cannot be forced to fit the artificial scheme of "gods of the days of the week." The pottery in question seems rather to continue such ancient La Tène traditions as are seen on the exterior plaques of the Gundestrup cal-

niche—that he is a later addition which does not belong to the original conception (cf. Blanchet, 202; Krüger, 136, who believes the pedestal was erected to support a statue of the Roman Mars and that the "tricephale" was added later to explain the nature of the Roman god).

¹³⁹ Most of these have been gathered by Loeschke, *Röm.-germ. Korrespondenz-Blatt* 8 (1915) 2f.

¹⁴⁰ This may also come from Mons; the provenance is not certain. Ht: 24.5 cm.; W: 25 cm.; Ht. of busts: 12 cm. I am deeply indebted to M. Jean Babelon for having permitted me to examine this vase at my leisure. For excellent illustrations, see Krüger, *op. cit.* pl. iv; C. Jullian, *REA* 10 (1908) 173 f., pls. XII-XIII. That Bavay was the center of a flourishing production is indicated by the fact that the Museum there is in possession of about 70 or 80 fragments of similar vessels—P. Darche, *Bull. archéol.* 1932-33, 665 f.

¹⁴¹ E. Babelon, *Guide illustrée*, 24.

¹⁴² *Cultes* 3, p. 170.

¹⁴³ Cf. Cumont, "Comment la Belgique fut romanesque," *Annales d. l. soc. d'archéol. de Bruxelles* 28 (1919) 174 f. He enumerates some examples and relates them to the second century wave of oriental religions which brought astrological concepts that combined with

certain Celtic beliefs persevering among the Belgae.

¹⁴⁴ For fragments from Bavay and Elouges, near Mons (tricephalic divinity), see Baron de Loë, *Belgique ancienne, Cat. . . Bruxelles* 3 (1937) 164 f., no. 58. Other fragments derive from Valenciennes, Aiseau, Schalkoven in Limburg, Tongres, Ombret and Vodécce (for the latter, see Debove, *RA* 1893, 289). The late Paul Rolland was kind enough to call my attention to a complete vase in the Tournai Museum, published by Amand, *Ant. class.* 12 (1943) p. 100.

¹⁴⁵ F. de Villenois, *Bull. de l'inst. archéol. Liégeois*, 11 (1873) 484 f. (excavation report; the most recent coin found on the plateau at Jupille was of Commodus); 23 (1894) 423-430. Demarteau, *Mélanges G. Kurth* (1908) 2, 15-25 and pl. *Idem. L'Ardenne Belgo-romaine*,³ 71 f.

¹⁴⁶ Discovered at the Fliegenberg, Troisdorf, Cologne, Prehistoric Museum. C. Rademacher, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 1-17; pl. II, 3-4.

¹⁴⁷ G. Kossinna, *Mannus* 2 (1910) 201-208, with a table of the various possibilities, comparing the schemes of Bavay and Jupille.

¹⁴⁸ See below pp. 39-42.

dron,¹⁴⁹ with busts of divinities which need not conform to any single correlative or significant pattern. This is borne out by the fact that a similar vase group is known, characterized by merely four busts.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, with the exception of E. Krüger, the scholars whose views have been outlined above date the various vases in the late second or early third century A.D., primarily for the reason that they feel representations of the days of the week could not be expected in the provinces before that period. But, with Krüger,¹⁵¹ I should place them—on the basis of style alone—no later than the early part of the first century A.D. Whether the planetary week was accepted in the North at such an early date is an entirely separate problem. The Cologne vase comes from a sepulture which is dated by the excavator in the third century A.D., but he himself admits at least the possibility that it belonged to an earlier grave destroyed by a new complex.¹⁵² Comparison with certain glass pendants in the shape of human heads found in La Tène burials of the late fourth century B.C. and in Punic tombs of the same age proves, I believe, that indigenous Celtic style persists in these ceramic products.¹⁵³ They must not be dated too late in the Roman period. However, if they should belong to an "awakening of the

indigenous element" in the second century,¹⁵⁴ they would still have little value in determining the significance of the tricephalic god on analogy with his supposed Roman, planetary counterpart.

In place of attempts to mold the evidence of the vases into a preconceived pattern in order to approach an understanding of the three-headed god through alleged *interpretatio gallica*, it is more valid methodologically to examine the archaeological material for external evidence which may point the way for further research. There are several facts which one can state under this category, without evaluation or interpretation. First: one of the tricephalic representations comes from an excavation which also yielded two funeral inscriptions.¹⁵⁵ Second: Reims was obviously an important center of his cult, as can be judged by the number of cippi found there.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to note in passing that the preserved monuments from this city, with the exception of gravestones and other funerary sculptures, can be related almost exclusively to the worship of Cernunnos and his circle. In addition to the well-known stele of the stag god, there are a number of reliefs of goddesses who seem to have a certain rapport with Cybele,¹⁵⁷ a figure of a woman nursing a child or a "Déesse mère,"¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹ Indeed, Kossinna (*ibid.* 203-205) following S. Müller tries to force the Gundestrup vessel into the "Wochengötter" pattern, despite the fact that there were originally eight exterior panels and that he has difficulty with the preserved divinities. For this reason he dates the cauldron in the second or third century A.D.

¹⁵⁰ Discussed by L. Renard, *Bull. d. l. soc. scientif. de Limburg* 22 (1904) 198 f.

¹⁵¹ *Annales, XXI^e Congrès*, 127-131. Krüger is the only author who actually considers the *style* of the vases. He makes significant comparisons of the profiles of the bases and finds parallels in Augustan pottery from the camp at Haltern. Of the Bavay example he says (p. 130): "Il ne doit donc pas être postérieure à l'époque de Tibère."

Loeschke (*RG Korr. Bl.* 1915, 5-9) compares a mould for pressing these busts on vases, stating unequivocally that this mould dates from the third century. There is no indication of his reasons for this dating. Ferri reproduces the same mould in Trier (*Arte romana sul Reno*, 195 f., figs. 117-118) saying that it seems of the second century. It should be

noted that Drexel is another advocate of an early dating for the "Wochengöttervasen," as expressed in his study of the Gundestrup vessel—*op. cit.* 10.

¹⁵² Rademacher, *op. cit.* 11 f.

¹⁵³ See Déchelette, *Manuel*, 2, pt. 3, p. 1317, fig. 574, 1-6. No. 2, from Carthage, is particularly close in style to the busts on the vases.

¹⁵⁴ Cumont, *op. cit.* 174 f., note 1. Cf. Krüger, *op. cit.* 123.

¹⁵⁵ The relief from Dax (see above, note 129, 1), *RA* 1882, 1, p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ There is, in addition, a "Viergötterstein" in the Hôtel Dieu which represents Mercury, Jupiter, Diana (?), and the tricephalic god. E V, no. 3666. Discovered in the Rue de Temple. The three-headed divinity wears a short tunic and mantle; his front face is beardless, the lateral ones bearded. He holds a patera in his right hand and rests his left on a gnarled stick.

¹⁵⁷ E V, no. 3670, 3673-5. Reims, Musée archéologique. The provenances are not known, but the stelae must derive from the city or its vicinity. The general disposition in all of these shows a seated, draped goddess who holds a cornucopia. In most cases she

and monuments which relate to Mercury.¹⁵⁹ Third: one may recall the incontestable assimilation of the three-headed god to both Mercury and Cernunnos on occasion.¹⁶⁰

On this basis, one may enter a more speculative sphere to examine additional monuments which represent the "tricéphale" in the company of other figures. The connection with Mercury—and one must bear in mind that assimilation in isolated instances does not imply identity—is reaffirmed by a cippus from La Malmaison (Aisne).¹⁶¹ This shows a relief of Mercury and a goddess, and is surmounted by the familiar three-faced, bearded head. In the museum of Verdun is a relief of a standing tricephalic figure who holds a cock, the frequent chthonic attribute of Mercury.¹⁶² Two fragmentary reliefs, from

Trier and Metz respectively, enlarge the sphere of his connections.¹⁶³ These are quite normal representations of a group of three Matres, those goddesses who have already been mentioned as counterparts to Cybele in Gaul.¹⁶⁴ But below the central goddess on each stele appears a tricephalic bust of the Reims type.

Two further sculptures are more problematic. The first is a *sacellum* from Beaune with three figures within its architectural niche.¹⁶⁵ The tricephalic divinity is given the central position, flanked by Pan and another god; all hold cornucopias. This sculpture is in such poor condition that it is not possible to suggest a date for it, although it is undoubtedly not one of those which manifest stylistic survivals from Celtic art, and its developed religious imagery suggests the

wears a mural crown and has one foot raised on a small round footstool.

¹⁵⁸ E V, no. 3679. Reims, Hôtel de Ville. Again, the provenance is not indicated. Such a conception, dependent upon fertility symbolism, is probably related to the cult of Cernunnos in its wider sense. Compare the statue in Auxerre, Catalogue B, no. 15, which represents a "dieu accroupi" nursing a child.

¹⁵⁹ E V, no. 3668. Reims, private collection. Discovered in the city. This stele shows a bearded Mercury clad in native dress standing beside his partner, Rosmerta. Below the figures are represented a cock and the head of a boar(?); Mercury holds a second such head. It seems that both might be ram's heads similar to that of the relief in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. One might note here the cross-legged figure (Catalogue B, no. 14) of unknown provenance, but in a private collection near Reims.

¹⁶⁰ In addition to the Autun statuette and the statue of Condat already mentioned, there is another monument which may evidence a similar syncretism. A bronze female head discovered at Cebazat (Puy-de-Dôme) shows two smaller heads applied above the ears in the manner of the Autun figurine. Possibly this is to be connected with Diana, but one detail indicates a relation to the female partner of Cernunnos: behind the diadem are two small holes, at either side of the hair parting. Could these have some connection with the frequent insertion of antlers in the monuments we are considering, or did they merely serve to attach a moon-crescent? The head is 0.08 m. in height. See Luguët, *Bull. archéol.* 1890, 240 f., pl. xiii.

¹⁶¹ E V, no. 3756 with bibl. St. Germain-en-Laye. Ht: 0.65 m.; W: 0.32 m. Mercury and the goddess

are seated. He is nude and holds a cock in his left hand, as well as some indeterminate object in his right.

¹⁶² E VI, no. 4640 with bibl. Discovered at Senon (Meuse). Ht: 0.49 m.; W: 0.26 m. The figure is described as bicephalic in *Ésperandieu*. The relief is fragmentary, revealing only the right face in its entirety, but it seems reasonable to assume a third head missing at the left.

¹⁶³ E VI, no. 4937. Trier Museum. Ht: 0.19 m.; W, as preserved: 0.13 m. Only the central of the seated goddesses is complete. For a better photograph, see Krüger, *Westdeut. Ztschr.* 26 (1907) 315, pl. x, 13. See also, *Idem.*, *Schumacher-Festschrift* (1930) 249-253.

E IX, no. 7234. This piece is known only through a drawing from Tabouillot and François, *Hist. de Metz* (1769). Here the three Matres are standing.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. above, note 104.

¹⁶⁵ Catalogue C, no. 8. For an ingenious interpretation of this monument in relation to disease and abnormalities, see G. Wilke, *Die Heilkunde in der europäischen Vorzeit* (1936), text accompanying fig. 36. Medical historians utilize Gallo-Roman sculpture to an astonishing degree. It is also discussed frequently in literature published by the French Folklore Society. None of these publications is quoted in this article, since they are rarely scientific formulations, but rather comparable to earlier literature like the interesting study of Bulliot and Thiollier, *La mission et le culte de Saint Martin . . . dans le pays éduen* (Autun 1892). The latter includes many of our examples, discussed from the viewpoint of determining the rural paganism which St. Martin had to combat.

later Empire. We have seen the connection of the three-headed deity with the Matres who, as goddesses of forests and woods, must have been included in the wider sphere of Cernunnos worship, particularly his fertility aspects. As time went on the natives seem to have come to isolate this forestial domain from Cernunnos and, under the influence of the Roman garrisons who specially honored their own god of the woods and hunt,¹⁶⁶ to relegate it to Silvanus. In the Balkan regions, however, the penetration of originally Greek ideas conditioned his representation under the guise of Pan.¹⁶⁷ I believe that the Beaune triad is to be regarded as unique documentation of this development, perhaps dedicated by a person whose home had been in Dalmatia, with the figure of Pan replacing the normal Celtic type of Silvanus. The bust of Diana, the normal partner of Silvanus, in the gable would certainly be apposite to this interpretation.¹⁶⁸ The presence of the tricephalic divinity can be explained by a system of transfer: having been associated with the Matres, who in turn became affiliated with Silvanus,¹⁶⁹ he migrated from the Cernunnos cult into that of

his supplanter in certain instances. It is also possible that the emphasis upon the number three in the Beaune relief may be analogous to the established formula of the three Matres.¹⁷⁰

The foregoing theory is substantiated by the overlapping functions of Cernunnos and Silvanus in Gaul, which would seem to prove that their dichotomy is based upon original unification in a single cult.¹⁷¹ Thus Silvanus is regularly associated with another divinity of the underworld, Sucellos, who is represented with a hammer and *olla* and is frequently accompanied by Cerberus.¹⁷² On the other hand, one of Krüger's major contributions has been indisputable evidence that Silvanus was often identified with Mars.¹⁷³ This fact will have some bearing on the proposed derivation of the tricephalic divinity.

A second problematic monument cognate to the three-headed god is a relief from Dennevay (Saône-et-Loire) in the Musée lapidaire at Autun.¹⁷⁴ He stands at the left, wearing a tunic and mantle, and seems to break a small cake with both hands.¹⁷⁵ Beside him, in the center, stands a female figure whose drapery leaves her right breast bare; she wears a diadem and holds

¹⁶⁶ For the importance of Silvanus among the legions, see L. Chatelain, *Mél.* 30 (1910) pp. 77-97 (particularly pp. 78 ff.).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Wissowa, *ARW* 1916-19, 34; R. Peter, "Silvanus," *Roscher*, iv², cols. 870 f., 874; Klotz, *RE* 3, col. 123. An interesting survival of this is found in a fifteenth century (?) Italian manuscript (Vat. MS. Barb. lat. 273): Pan is shown with a moon in his hair (cf. the bust of Diana above him on the Beaune relief) and is inscribed "Pan-Silvanus," see G. Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti storiche della chimica e dell'alchimia in Italia* (1925), fig. 77.

In Dalmatia Pan-Silvanus is accompanied often by three goddesses, Silvanae, comparable to the Matres in Gaul and Germany.

¹⁶⁸ In view of the alliance between Silvanus and the Celtic mallet-god, Sucellos (cf. *infra*), it is interesting to note that Sucellos and Diana appear as partners on a "Viergötterstein" in Mainz-Flouest, *RA* 1890, 1, pp. 153-165, pl. vi.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*. Also, Renel, *op. cit.* 322. For a discussion of Silvanus' connection with the cult of the Matres and a listing of illustrative monuments, see M. Ihm, *BonnJbb* 83 (1887) 83 ff.

¹⁷⁰ This emphasis on three led Creuly (*RA* 1862, 1, pp. 24 f.) to interpret the monument as a manifesta-

tion of the cult of the *Lares viales* and Hecate.

¹⁷¹ A provocative stele which is perhaps a reflection of such unification was discovered on Le Donon in 1937. It represents a male divinity with attributes and characteristics of Mercury (talaria), Silvanus (fruits and pine-cone), and Cernunnos (stag), as well as the *ascia* sometimes held by Sucellos. See Linckenheld, *Bull. des antiquaires* 1937, 136; Grenier, *Les Gaulois*, pl. xii, left; Forrer, *Cahiers d'Alsace* 1937, 155 (E, XI, no. 7800).

¹⁷² See H. Hubert, *RA* 1915, 1, pp. 26-39. His evidence for the assimilation is buttressed by inscriptions to the two divinities (*CIL* XIII, 6224, for example). For the mallet-god in general, see the recent study by Lambrechts and the following: MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 31; A. de Barthélemy, *Rev. celtique* 1 (1870-72) 1-8. A major problem is the relationship between Cernunnos and Sucellos as underworld divinities. The latter seems to be a chthonic Zeus-Serapis type, whereas Cernunnos is more allied with the Greek Pluto.

¹⁷³ Krüger, *Germania* 1939, 256-258. Inscriptions ensure the validity of this section of his study. Cf. below, p. 42, note 188.

¹⁷⁴ E III, no. 2131 with bibl. Ht: 0.25 m.; W: 0.27 m.

¹⁷⁵ See above, p. 36, note 131.

a patera over a small altar. To the right stands her counterpart, a *Genius* with long hair, wrapped in a mantle which conceals the lower part of his torso; he grasps a cornucopia in his left hand and a round object in his right toward which a serpent climbs. This last figure bears a strong resemblance to another youth of abundance type portrayed on a relief in Luxembourg.¹⁷⁶ But an unusual feature of the latter sculpture returns us to the cult of Cernunnos, for in one corner of the niche appears the head of a stag disgorging coins onto a rectangular tablet; the head of a bull is also visible. The relationship of both the Dennevy relief and the Luxembourg stele to our major investigation will be elucidated below.

If it has been demonstrated that the tricephalic divinity of the Celts has definite connections with the cult of Cernunnos and that, on occasion, he may even be combined with the latter in a single image, it still remains to clarify his origin and independent significance, to define the background of the established syncretism. In this connection it is natural to recall other conceptions of tricephaly among Indo-European peoples.¹⁷⁷ The idea of a being with three heads or bodies appears repeatedly in the classical world. It cannot be mere fortuity that the principle is especially common for those of some chthonic affiliation: Cerberos, Hecate, Typhon and, above all, Geryon.

The figure of Geryon has been traced to an origin in Minoan-Mycenaean times and would

appear to be a genuine Mediterranean invention rather than one of the myriad Greek derivations from hybrid creations of the Near East or Egypt.¹⁷⁸ It is customary to divide the representations of this personage into two groups: one of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, the other of the West. The first is characterized by a three-bodied formation which is often accompanied by a corresponding multiplicity of arms and legs,¹⁷⁹ but the type of three heads added to an otherwise normal human figure is restricted to the Western Mediterranean until an advanced date.¹⁸⁰ Sardinian bronzes of the seventh century B.C. reveal such a formula,¹⁸¹ and it is very popular throughout the development of Italic art, notably among the Etruscans.

The legend of Hercules' conflict with Geryon and the hero's rape of his cattle is frequently laid in these western regions—namely, at Gades in Spain, although the geographical setting is a fluctuating element among classical authors.¹⁸² Pausanias, however, was shown at Gades the tree which sprang from Geryon's body.¹⁸³ In later Roman times there was an oracle of Geryon at Patavium in Cisalpine Gaul.¹⁸⁴ But, in any case, it cannot be maintained that the Greek legend derives from some ancient acquaintance with the three-headed figures prevalent in the West, nor that for this reason the locale was placed in Spain. The eastern and western manifestations are rather parallel developments from a common source.

On the surface of the story, the cattle which

¹⁷⁶ Catalogue C, no. 7.

¹⁷⁷ See H. Usener, "Dreiheit," *Rheinisches Museum f. Philologie*, 58 (1903) 1-47, 161-208, 321-362, for a study devoted to this problem. Cf. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* 2 pl. 184 for polycephalic divinities of Germanic tribes (Trigla—a goddess with three heads) and the Slavic tricephalic god, Triglav. See also R. Pettazzoni, "The pagan origins of the three-headed representation of the Christian trinity," *Journal Warburg Institute*, 9 (1946) 135-151.

¹⁷⁸ Weicker, *RE* 7 col. 1290. This article (cols. 1286-1296) is the basis for much of the following material.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* cols. 1290-1294, for examples. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 287.

¹⁸⁰ Panofsky (*Hercules am Scheidewege*, p. 1, n. 2 after Schlosser, *Beilage zur Münchner allgemeinen*

Zeitung 1894, no. 249, p. 5) speaks of an "older," Gallo-Roman type of three-headed representation with three faces, three noses, three mouths and two or four eyes; the "younger" type is characterized as three free-standing heads. Actually the latter type seems to be the earlier, if one takes into consideration the ancient Italic representations.

¹⁸¹ A. de la Marmora, *Voyage en Sardaigne* (1839-57) 2, pl. xxiv, no. 67. Cf. E. Pais, *Atti Linc.* 7 (1881) 366 ff., for spurious figures among those published by Marmora. See also, E. Gerhard, *Gesamm. Schrift.* 2, 541, pl. xlv, no. 1.

¹⁸² The most extended account appears in Apollodorus (*Ped.* 10.25-27), and he places the action at Gades.

¹⁸³ 1.35.8.

¹⁸⁴ Suetonius, *Tib.* 14.3.

Hercules steals from the island of Erytheia are the herds of Helios, and he travels thence in the golden beaker of the Sun-god. But Robert and other scholars have established that, although at some remote period it may have been the herds of the Sun which the story concerned, in the form in which it is preserved to us the meaning is already quite different, that "es nicht sowohl die Rinder des Helios als die des Hades sind . . ."; that the deed is perhaps only another form of the Cerberos myth with the same implications of triumph over death.¹⁸⁵ The cattle would thus stand for souls and their theft for release from the abode of the dead; the shepherd Eurytion would parallel Menoitos, the herdsman of Hades, and his multiple-headed watch dog, Orthos, would be the counterpart of Cerberos.¹⁸⁶ Confirmation of this is to be found in the tomb frescoes of the fourth century B.C. in the Tomba dell'Orco at Corneto where Geryon appears as an armed satellite before the throne of Hades and Persephone.¹⁸⁷

Given a considerable incidence of representations of Geryon in Etruscan art,¹⁸⁸ it seems justified to assume that the Celts, during their sojourn in northern Italy, formed their tricephalic god on the basis of an acquaintance with this figure and his legend in Italic culture.¹⁸⁹ He must have preserved an aura of the underworld in this transaction and could therefore serve as a legitimate cult companion to Cernunnos when

that divinity's chthonic powers had been crystallized. In the very process of adaptation to the worship of the stag-god, new implications of fertility would have developed which ultimately conditioned his conjunction with the Matres. In regard to the syncretism of the three-headed god and Mercury, another prominent member of the Cernunnos circle, it is a question whether worshippers in Gaul were aware of external analogies between their indigenous god and the classical one whom the Greeks sometimes represented with three or four heads.¹⁹⁰ It is more probable, however, that their assimilation to one another in specific monuments is but the symbolic dichotomy of cult companions, comparable to the hybrid images of a three-headed Cernunnos or a Mercury seated cross-legged.¹⁹¹

The preceding clarification of the position of the problematic tricephalic divinity of the Celts has underlined one of the major aspects of the stag-god as lord of the nether world. In addition to this, and subordinate to the other, fertility side of his complex personality, there is yet another development under Roman influence which expands Cernunnos' sphere of activity.

A final development of the complex synthesis of ideas which attaches to Cernunnos in the Roman period is announced by the famous stele from Reims (fig. 13)¹⁹² Unearthed in 1837, the relief was interpreted with true early nine-

¹⁸⁵ Robert, "Alkyoneus," *Hermes* 19 (1884) 483. It is interesting to compare Geryon's genealogy, as given by Hesiod (*Th.* 270 ff.), and to note how many of his monstrous relatives were eliminated by Hercules.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Weicker, *op. cit.* cols. 1289 ff. The same article cites other theories of interpretation, but there has been substantial agreement on the essentials of the one accepted here. Apollodorus describes Orthos as two-headed, but a relief from Cyprus (cf. Voigt and Drexler, *Roscher*, i², col. 1636) shows him with three in the scheme that is usual for Cerberos in later classical times.

¹⁸⁷ Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. CCXLVIII, 3. The figure is inscribed *Gerun*, but the three heads are sufficient identification. Cf. the description of Hades in Vergil, *Aen.* 6.289 (. . . *Gorgones, Harpyiaequae, et forma tricorniporis umbrae*). It is interesting to note a Renaissance interpretation of Pluto as having three bodies; Colonna gives the following inscription in his *Hypnerotomachia* (Guégan facsimile ed., Paris, 1926,

161): *Interno Plotoni tricornipori et carae oxori Proserpinae tricapitulae Cerbero*.

¹⁸⁸ One Etruscan bronze statuette is in the Museum of Lyon. Its provenance is unknown. Ht: 21 cm. E. de Chanot, *Gaz. archéol.* 6 (1880) 136 ff., pl. 22. The figure is nude, but each of the three heads is helmeted. Weicker (*op. cit.* col. 1295) cites a number of examples.

It may be noted here that the classical representation of Geryon as a warrior could be claimed as the basis for an assimilation of the tricephalic god to the Celtic Mars, if one accepts the orthodox interpretation of the Bavay "Wohengöttervase."

¹⁸⁹ Cf. J. de Witte, *RA* 1875, 2, pp. 383-387.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. above, p. 36, note 134, no. 2. Ancient lexicographers speak of a four-headed Hermes which stood in the Cerameikos at Athens. For images of Hermes with three heads, see J. Schmidt, "Trikephalos," *Roscher* 5, cols. 1111-1115.

¹⁹¹ See Catalogue A, no. 9.

¹⁹² Catalogue C, no. 1.

teenth century allegory as a personification of the Fine Arts, Commerce and Agriculture.¹⁹³ The Antonine date suggested at the time, on the basis of coins discovered in the area, does not seem to require emendation. The rich modelling of the coiffures and of the beard of Cernunnos, the gracility of the poses, and the rather "baroque" extension of the flanking figures beyond the frame do not contradict it.¹⁹⁴

It is not necessary to reaffirm the chthonic significance which is maintained, though subordinated, for Cernunnos here. A small rat sculptured in the pediment of the stele substantiates that aspect of the divinity; as a burrowing animal, the rat was early associated with the underworld.¹⁹⁵ The bull and stag are probably to be recognized as allusions to the remote theriolatrous origins of the stag-god, as well as fertility symbols. But other elements of this composition enlarge the familiar iconography of Cernunnos and present new problems of interpretation.

First, the conjunction of two normal, classical gods, Apollo and Mercury, must be explained. The presence of Mercury is not surprising. We have encountered him before in this circle for which he possesses more than one qualification. Not only is Mercury a constant associate of funerary divinities as a favored mediator between the world of men and the realm of the dead, but he is also an ally of the generative forces of *abundantia*. His function as protector of herds goes far back into classical Greek times, and one can be sure that his connection with Demeter is based as much upon corn fertility as upon chthonic significance. This is borne out by the situation in Rome in the early fifth century B.C.

when, as Livy records, whoever won the dedication of the temple of Mercury was to incur thereby administration of the corn supply, as well as establishment of the merchants' guild.¹⁹⁶ The inclusion of Apollo as a major partner is, however, more difficult to interpret.

In this respect one may cite a frequent partnership of Mercury and Apollo in classical times: at Olympia they shared one altar because, Pausanias assumes, "Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute."¹⁹⁷ But this is not the only ground for their affiliation. Apollo under one guise was worshipped in rites of the Great Goddesses at Oechalia in Messenia, rites which were said to be second only to those of Eleusis in sanctity. At that site were erected statues of Apollo Carneios, Hagne (Kore) and Hermes.¹⁹⁸ Furtwängler studied the syncretistic unification of Apollo and Mercury incidental to a statuary type which portrays Mercury with the attributes of a scroll and the quiver and baldric of Apollo.¹⁹⁹ In Roman provincial art there is abundant evidence for their fraternization: an altar in the Museum of Metz shows Mercury and Rosmerta on one side, Apollo on the other;²⁰⁰ an important stele in Stuttgart reveals the two divinities side by side, accompanied by two minute human figures, above a sacrifice which includes Minerva;²⁰¹ and a quadrangular block from Reims itself presents on one face a nude Mercury with caduceus, lyre, cornucopia and club.²⁰²

Nevertheless, it is impossible at this time to venture any concrete suggestion as to the relation of Apollo with Cernunnos.²⁰³ In any case, the affiliation is not a unique phenomenon. Another monument of the stag-god (fig. 4)²⁰⁴ as a

¹⁹³ E. Charton, *Magasin pittoresque* 1847, 164.

¹⁹⁴ Certain elements, however, might suggest a chronological revision into the late Hadrianic period: the rigid isocephaly, preserved in the two animals by a rather naive device, or the uncoordinated juxtaposition of figures and background.

¹⁹⁵ De Witte, *RA* 1852, 561. This detail has been seized upon as a "tangible clue" to the influence of Indian art on that of Gaul—A. Grünwedel, *Globus* 75, March 18, 1899, 176, comparing figures of Kuwera in which his sack is replaced by a rat.

¹⁹⁶ 2.27.5.

¹⁹⁷ 5.14.8.

¹⁹⁸ Pausanias 4.33.4.

¹⁹⁹ *Kleine Schriften* 2, 350-360.

²⁰⁰ E V, no. 4346 with bibl. From Montigny.

²⁰¹ E XI, no. 479. From near Neuberg. Cf. Haug-Sixt, *Röm. Inschr. u. Bildw. Württembergs*, pp. 78 f., no. 112, fig. 40.

²⁰² Cf. above, p. 38, note 156, for the tricephalic divinity on another face of the same stone. Hahl dates this sculpture c. A.D. 232—*op. cit.* 42.

²⁰³ Cf. the suggestion of Rhys (*Celtic Heathendom* 88) that Apollo, connected in Gaul with mineral springs, here represents the sources of health pouring out from Cernunnos' deep realm.

²⁰⁴ Catalogue C, no. 5.

child, holding a purse and torque and flanked by youthful genies and serpents, preserves on its adjacent face a figure of Apollo playing the lyre. On analogy with the Reims sculpture, the third, destroyed side could probably be reconstructed as a representation of Mercury.

A second novel feature of the Reims stele reveals a new direction of *interpretatio romana*. Cernunnos holds a large sack from which he pours forth sketchily rendered round objects. These have been variously interpreted as coins, grains, acorns or beech-nuts,²⁰⁵ but comparison with other monuments supports their identification as coins. The same objects are spewed out by the stag on the Luxembourg relief already mentioned, where their flatness and regularity of shape could be applied only to pieces of money. A stone statue from La Guerche shows a seated figure holding a purse from which coins escape.²⁰⁶ A silver bowl from Lyon bears relief decoration which represents, according to P. Wuilleumier, Cernunnos reclining on a couch beside a table at which Mercury counts out coins.²⁰⁷

With this development it becomes proper to speak of Cernunnos as Dis Pater, the old Italic god of the underworld who corresponds to the Greek Pluto.²⁰⁸ The fact seems inescapable that the Celtic divinity with his chthonic-fertility dualism was equated by the Romans with their own god of similar character. In Rome Dis Pater had a sanctuary near the altar of Saturn belonging to the temple whose subterranean cave was given over to the custody of the Roman state treasury.²⁰⁹ It is probable that some association of money, i.e., the metals of its composition and the depths of the earth from which they were mined, led people to assign the function of be-

stower and protector of riches to the lord of those nether regions. Subsequently, by a comprehensible transfer, the same role was attributed to Dis Pater's Celtic equivalent. For two centuries Cernunnos maintained his identity, but with the triumph of this Roman interpretation at the end of the second century A.D., the way was opened for his complete submergence in classical forms. In the Luxembourg relief and the Dennevy sculpture related to it,²¹⁰ his fertility aspects are expressed by *Genii* of abundance.

Perhaps Cernunnos preserved his independence in the funerary sphere; in any case this most haunting figure of the Celtic pantheon achieved as enduring an immortality as many divinities of the classical world. He survives in many examples of Irish and Viking art: for example, the north pillar of Clonmacnoise²¹¹ and one leaf of the Book of Bobbio in Turin.²¹² The imaginations of medieval artists were also captured by the arresting appearance of this antlered divinity. I may mention two examples of this continued interest. The Stuttgart Psalter, that manuscript which contains so much provocative material for archaeologists, gives startling evidence of what has been suspected from its style: that its miniaturist was a well-informed observer of Gallo-Roman monuments. In the scene of the Descent into Limbo he places Cernunnos, complete with cross-legged posture, antlers, and even a ram-headed serpent, in an arched niche of Hades.²¹³ No mere copying of some antique monument this but a clear vision of what that ancient figure stood for, the lord of the underworld in his proper home.²¹⁴ Again, on one of the capitals of the Cathedral of Parma, Cernunnos is shown seated between two addorsed animals, clearly

²⁰⁵ Krüger, *Germania* 1939, 253, n. 6, agrees that they are certainly coins, and compares the Celtic die type with the head of a stag on the obverse mentioned above, p. 26, note 84.

²⁰⁶ Catalogue B, no. 10.

²⁰⁷ Catalogue A, no. 19.

²⁰⁸ R. Peter, "Dis Pater," *Roscher*, i¹, cols. 1179-1188.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1181.

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 40-41.

²¹¹ Henry, *op. cit.* 108; *Idem*, *La sculpture irlandaise*, pl. 41, 3. Although hornless, the cross-legged figures of the Oseberg bucket (Henry, *Irish Art* pl. 49) and

the Freyr statuette from Rellinge (Berstl, *Jb. axial. Kunst*, 1 [1924] pl. 99, 2) belong to the same tradition.

²¹² Henry, *Irish Art* pl. 67.

²¹³ Berstl, *op. cit.* pl. 102, 2. DeWald, *The Stuttgart Psalter*, fol. 16 verso.

²¹⁴ A similar cognizance of the original implications of Cernunnos appears in a miniature of a fifteenth century manuscript of the Holy Grail. Satan is shown as a three-faced being (rendered in a very accurate Reims type) with animal ears and antlers—*Aesculape*, Sept. 1912, p. x of Supplement. For the Christian applications of tricephaly to both Satan and the Trinity, see Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* 151.

identified by the small antlers which sprout from his head.²¹⁵

If this detailed examination of the monuments of the cult of the stag-god has clarified his significance and permitted a more integrated understanding of his functions, it has also yielded important evidence for the typology of provincial sculpture. Pre-Roman types were able to survive the impact of classical culture,²¹⁶ and this select example has given some intimation of the complex background of Gallo-Roman art with its fusion of diverse elements from varied sources.

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APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF REPRESENTATIONS OF CERNUNNOS AND RELATED FIGURES

L. refers to Lantier's catalogue in
MonPiot 34 (1934) 41-50.

CATALOGUE A: BRONZE STATUETTES

1. (L.2) Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des antiquités nationales, inv. no. 14658. Discovered c. 1840 at Savigny, near Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Ht: 0.185 m. including base (fig. 7).

Bearded divinity seated with his legs crossed under him upon a cushion decorated by cross-hatched incisions. He wears a long sleeveless garment fastened at each shoulder by a round fibula, a torque about his neck, and a bracelet on his right wrist. Two smaller heads projecting at either side of the principal one, just above the ears, make this god tricephalic. Above his forehead appear two symmetrical holes (which still retain traces of lead) for the attachment of antlers.

The divinity's arms protectively embrace the bodies of two serpents with fish tails and ram heads which encircle his torso; the heads of these animals rest upon an indistinguishable heap of fruits (?) held in the lap of the god, above which a second torque is hieratically displayed. An illustration is to be found in *RA* 1880, 1, pl. XII. A new picture-book, published in Paris, in-

cludes a fine plate of this figurine (pl. 6) and of several other works discussed in this study: Champigneulle and Gischia *La sculpt. en France d. l. préhist. à la fin du moyen âge*, 1950.

2. Unpublished bronze in the possession of H. Scheinfelen in Stuttgart, on loan exhibition in the Landesmuseum at Cassel. This statuette is mentioned by E. Krüger, *Germania* 23 (1939) 253-4: "... hockenden Hirschgottes mit dem geöffneten Geldbeutel . . ."

3. (L.8) Musée de Clermont-Ferrand; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 29313. Discovered in the suburbs of Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Lantier, fig. 9.

Goddess seated with crossed legs. She wears a long chiton, mantle, and a tiara. Two unbranched antlers grow from her head. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia; the missing right hand was partially extended and probably held a patera.

4. (L.9) Lost statuette formerly in the Jesuit collection at Besançon (Doubs). B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée*, 2nd ed. (1722) 2, pl. cxiv, fig. 3.

Goddess seated as before, in the so-called "tailors' seat." She wears a long-sleeved chiton with an over-drape at the waist. From her head rise four-pointed antlers. The left hand holds a cornucopia filled with fruits, and the right a patera.

Montfaucon misinterpreted the antlers as palm branches and consequently identified the figure as Isis.

5. (L.10) London, British Museum. Unknown provenance (fig. 6).

Goddess seated as before, wearing a long chiton. Three-pointed antlers grow from her head. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia with a "bull's head" on its reverse, and in her right a patera.

6. Lost statuette formerly in the collection of M. de Chezelles at Monthuçon (Allier). Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. cxc, fig. 6.

Bearded divinity standing with right arm extended. The god wears a long-sleeved undergarment and a cloak which is wrapped tightly about his legs. From his temples grow four-pointed antlers. In his left hand he holds a striated object which terminates in an animal head (ram or goat?).

7. Lost statuette formerly in the possession of M. de Mautour, Paris. From Ablainsevelt (Pas-de-Calais),

²¹⁵ C. Martin, *L'art roman en Italie* pl. 10, 2. He holds a spear in one hand. The curls of his beard are rendered in very Celtic style, closely comparable to the exterior plaques of the Gundestrup cauldron.

The ram-headed serpent was also revived in later periods, appearing frequently in manuscripts, particularly those of the Apocalypse, as a symbol of the anti-Christ. Cf. the Apocalypse, Valenciennes, no.

199, fols. 36, 37 and 26 (the text with the latter reads: *draconem qui habet cornua duo simula agni . . .*)—*Bull. d. l. soc. de reprod. de manuscrits* 6, 1922, pl. xxviii.

²¹⁶ The horse-goddess, Epona, would be another example. She not only survived, but was accepted by the legions and spread throughout the Empire.

1703. Ht: "13 thumbs." Moreau de Mautour, *Dissertation sur une figure de bronze, trouvée dans un tombeau et qui représente une divinité des anciens* (Paris 1706). The engraving of the figure, between pp. 6 and 7 (*Figura aenea antiqua Bacchi senioris cornuta*) served as the basis for Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. cxc, fig. 5.

Nude, standing divinity with a mantle draped over his left shoulder and arm. His right arm is partially extended. The god is bearded, and from his luxuriant hair spring two antlers. The strange conformation of these antlers in the drawings, which make them appear to end in crescents, derives from the fact that these eighteenth century savants did not understand the iconography of Cernunnos. A drawing of the head of this same figure by Grivaud de la Vincelle (*Arts et Métiers des anciens* [1819] pl. cx1, top center) gives the antlers a form similar to the Clermont-Ferrand statuette (no. 3), i.e. without tines but with a forked summit.

8. (L.4) Amiens Museum. Discovered at Amiens (Somme). Ht: 0.108 m. Lantier, fig. 5.

Youthful, beardless divinity seated in a cross-legged pose. He wears a long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist, and a mantle. His arms were outstretched symmetrically; the right is missing below the elbow, while the left hand is clenched as if to grasp some attribute. At the right side of his head, in front of the hair, appears a large animal ear; it is said that there are no traces of a corresponding one at the other side. Because of this feature (cf. A. Danicourt, *RA* 1886, 1, p. 78) early observers identified the figure as Midas. Lantier points out (*MonPiot* 34 [1934] 43) that the ear is rather that of a deer than of a horse (cf. Reinach, *RA* 1894, 2, p. 374). The relation of this statuette to other representations of Cernunnos or members of his cult remains problematic.

9. (L.3) Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond. Discovered at Pouy-de-Touges (Haute Garonne). Traces of gilding. Lantier, fig. 4.

This figure represents Mercury assimilated to Cernunnos (see text, p. 42 ff.) He is seated with his legs crossed under him, and his right leg bears hatchings which resemble those on the cushion of the Autun Cernunnos (no. 1). Both arms are extended without attributes. The god wears a tunic, a mantle, and the winged petasos of Mercury.

10. (L.1) Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 76551. Discovered in 1845 at Bouray (Seine-et-Oise). Ht: 0.42 m. (fig. 2). A hollow, copper figure composed of six independent pieces of sheet metal soldered together.

Nude, bearded man whose head is approximately half the size of the complete figure. He is seated in the "tailors' seat," his rudimentary legs violently contorted so that the soles of his feet are turned upwards. He wears a torque about his neck. The arms are missing, but traces of solder on the thighs prove that the

hands reposed there (Lantier, *op. cit.* 39 versus H. de Villefosse, "Le dieu gaulois accroupi de Bouray," *Mém. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 72 [1912] 244-275, who believed them to have been raised).

There is no compelling reason to recognize Cernunnos in this statuette; the person represented might not even be divine. Lantier relates it to a group of bronze busts from Compiègne and elsewhere (Reinach, *Bronzes figurés* 224 ff; Lantier, 52-55), suggesting that all are to be connected with the cult of Cernunnos and his female partner. This seems a dubious assumption, although one female head from Compiègne reveals slots for the insertion of "wings" (Reinach, *op. cit.* no. 218) or "horns" (Lantier, 54).

11. (L.5) Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 35231. From Vassel near Billom (Puy-de-Dôme). Lantier, fig. 6.

Bearded god wearing a tunic, a mantle and *bracae*. Both arms were extended; the right is broken from the elbow and the attribute in the clenched left hand is missing. The pose agrees with that of Cernunnos types, although the legs are more outstretched than those of true "dieux accroupis." The figure seems to bear more relation to the mallet-god of the Celts than to Cernunnos. For interpretation of that divinity and Cernunnos, see text, p. 40, n. 172. The "traces of horns" mentioned by Reinach (*Catalogue* 2 [1921] 163) seem to be merely damaged curls of hair.

12. (L.6) Musée d'Issoudun. From Neuvy-Pailloux (Indre). Ht: 0.09 m.

According to Lantier, this is neither the handle of a patera nor of a sword, but a statuette of a seated female divinity whose lower body has been replaced by a simple "bourrelet." She wears a torque about her neck and holds a second against her chest with both hands.

This minor monument has been excluded from our discussion, although it may well belong among representations of Cernunnos' female partner. Cf. A. Blanchet, "Manche de poignard du Musée d'Issoudun," *Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* 1901, 160-65.

13. (L.7) Formerly in the R. Gadant collection at Autun. From Mt. Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire). Ht. 0.046 m.

This extremely crude piece represents a seated goddess, clothed in a long robe. Her left leg is placed in the correct position for our type, but the right does not cross it and is more extended. Her arms repose on her knees.

In the lack of positive evidence, this statuette has also been excluded from the discussion. Cf. Lantier, fig. 7; R. Gadant, "Note sur une figurine de bronze découverte au Beuvray en 1905," *Mém. d. l. société éduenne*, N. S. 34 (1906) 261-65.

14. Suspect bronze from Broc (Maine-et-Loire).

Ht: 0.055 m. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, p. 192; R. Gaidoz, "Note sur une statuette en bronze représentant un homme assis les jambes croisées," *RA* 1881, 1, pp. 365-69.

This bearded figure, clothed in what resembles a coat of mail, is extremely stylized. He holds two decorative elements in symmetrically upraised hands. The piece is interpreted as furniture applique and dated in the medieval period by Reinach and Gaidoz. If it is medieval, certain details would indicate that the artist was copying an ancient piece, but it could well be a modern forgery.

15. In 1896 a dealer in Clermont-Ferrand was in possession of a small bronze "dieu accroupi," described as bearded and as having a draped torso. I have been unable to connect this piece with any other listed here or to ascertain its subsequent history. For mention of it, see M. Imbert, "Le dieu gaulois de Chassenon," *Revue mensuelle d. l'école d'anthropologie de Paris*, 6 (1896) 19.

Other Representations in Metal (and Val Camonica Rock carving)

16. Rock carving of the Val Camonica, North Italy. See text, pp. 14, 18, notes 8 and 28 ff.

17. Gundestrup silver cauldron, Copenhagen, National Museum. See text, pp. 19-21, notes 38-46 and (fig. 3).

18. Celtic coin type formerly ascribed to the Catalauni. See text, p. 14 and note 9.

19. Silver bowl found at Lyon in 1929. Ht: 0.065 m.; upper diam: 0.085 m. P. Willeumier, "Gobelet en argent de Lyon," *RA* 1936, 2, pp. 46-53.

The decorative frieze shows various animals (boar, tortoise, raven, eagle, serpent and dog), a youth seated at a table and pouring coins upon it from a purse, and a figure reclining on a couch. The head of the latter figure is missing, but he holds a cornucopia and a torque and a deer stands behind him. Willeumier identifies him as Cernunnos and the youth counting coins as Mercury. Cf. text, p. 44.

CATALOGUE B: STONE STATUES

1. (L.24) E VI, no. 4839 with bibliography. Épinal, Musée départemental des Vosges; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 27511. Discovered at Sommerécourt (Haute Marne). Ht: 1.20 m. Sandstone (fig. 11).

Beardless male divinity seated on a cushioned block. His legs have been broken away, but one foot appears in horizontal position at his left side and proves that he was seated cross-legged. The god wears a tunic and mantle, a torque about his neck, and earrings (as indicated by holes for their insertion). Two holes, still retaining particles of lead, make it certain that metal (or natural?) antlers were attached to his head. Two ram-headed serpents encircle his arms and

shoulders, resting their heads upon a "plate" (or sack?) held in his lap.

2. E VI, no. 4831 with bibliography. Épinal Museum; cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 24510. From Sommerécourt. Ht: 0.95 m. without the head. Common stone (fig. 12).

It was the knowledge that this figure had been discovered in a well in 1806 that led Voulot to return to Sommerécourt over fifty years later seeking its head, or other interesting fragments. This expedition led to the recovery of this goddess' male partner (no. 1): A. Bertrand, "Les deux divinités gauloises de Sommerécourt," *RA* 1884, 2, pp. 301-304, pls. ix-x.

Female divinity seated normally in a very hieratic and contained pose. She is fully draped, wears sandals, and is provided with bracelets as well as a torque about her neck. A long curl of hair falling over each shoulder preserves some indication of her coiffure.

The goddess holds a cornucopia in her right hand; it is filled with three fruits resembling apples and a round object under her left hand is described as a fourth such fruit (although it seems more like the "pomegranate" mentioned below). In her lap is a large bowl which suggests metallic form and is filled with more fruits and a sort of "pâtée." A serpent with the head of a ram surrounds her body and rests his head upon the contents of this vessel. In addition to the cornucopia resting against her shoulder, the right hand grasps what has been identified as a pomegranate and for this reason the goddess was called Ceres in the catalogue of the museum (J. Laurent, *Cat. des collections du Musée départ. des Vosges* [Épinal 1868] 62).

The stylistic affinity of this figure with that of Cernunnos from the same site is so strong that the two divinities can only have been intended as counterparts.

3. (L.26) E II, no. 1319 with bibl. Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 25327. From Saintes (Charente-Inférieure). Ht: 0.84 m.; width: 0.77 m.; thickness: 0.32 m. Shelly white stone. This so-called altar is actually a statuary group on the back of which additional figures are given in relief (figs. 9-10).

At the left, a god seated in the "tailors' seat," clothed in a *paenula*. He holds a purse in his left hand and a torque in his right. Unfortunately, his head is missing, making it impossible to determine the presence or absence of antlers. To the right a draped goddess is seated normally upon a cushioned block. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand and a dove in her right. At her left knee stands a diminutive figure, a draped female carrying a cornucopia and a fruit (apple?).

On the reverse the "dieu accroupi" is repeated in the center, seated upon a base which is either supported by or decorated with two bucrania. In his right hand he holds a purse, in his left some indeterminate object.

At his left, supported on a base over a similar bull's head, stands a nude male figure identified as Hercules because his right hand rests on a club, and an apple (?) is held in his left. At the opposite side of the cross-legged god a draped female stands on an undecorated base; she holds some object in her left hand (Éspérandieu: vase or fruit).

4. E II, no. 1316 with bibl. Bordeaux Museum. Discovered c. 1859 at Condat (Dordogne). Preserved ht: 0.35 m; width at base: 0.41 m. Common stone. Destroyed below chest (fig. 5).

Three bearded heads on a single broad bust characterize this tricephalic divinity. He is clothed in a *sagum* and wears a large torque about his principal neck. On top of the central head, two symmetrical holes for the insertion of antlers bear out the assimilation of Cernunnos to this second Celtic god (cf. the bronze statuette from Autun, Cat. A, no. 1).

E. Cartailhac ("Une nouvelle statue du dieu tricephale gaulois," *RA* 1899, 1, pp. 302-303) believed that he could distinguish an "ear" against one arm, recalling animals sculptured on other monuments of the same mythological sphere.

That this is not a bust but part of a complete figure, probably seated in the usual cross-legged pose, is borne out by the uneven fracture and the fact that the pose of the arms can be explained only if they rested on the divinity's thighs (cf. Reinach, "Nouvelles archéologiques et correspondance," *RA* 1899, 2, p. 467).

The best reproductions are to be found in a note by C. de Mensignac, "Le dieu tricephale gaulois de la commune de Condat," *Mém. d. l. soc. archéol. de Bordeaux* 22, no. 2 (1897) 29, pls. 1-11.

5. (L.13-17) E I, no. 131, III, no. 1703 and IX, no. 6703 with bibl. Marseille, Musée Borély. Two statues and fragments of figures squatting in the tailors' seat. From the sanctuary of La Roquepertuse near Velaux (Bouches-du-Rhône). One fragment (E no. 6703) was discovered in the vicinity, walled into a construction at Rognac (M. Clerc, *REA* 16 [1914] 81). In addition to no. 131 and no. 1703, fragmentary remains of similar figures at La Roquepertuse indicate the original existence of at least four statues within the sanctuary. The most fully preserved statue (E no. 131) measures 1.25 m. in height. Unfortunately, not a single head has been preserved, and it is thus impossible to insist upon an identification with Cernunnos or other members of his cult; these statues might represent human priests or votaries rather than divine personages. The most recent discussion is to be found in F. Benoit, *L'art primitif méditerranéen de la vallée du Rhône; La Sculpture* 1945, pp. 16, 34-36, pls. xxv, xxxiii-xxxvi.

The preserved statues represent male figures seated cross-legged on stone plaques, two of which have "acroteria" at the corners. Only the legs and base of the Rognac fragment are preserved. The other two

agree so closely that a description of E no. 131 will serve the entire group. The right arm follows the contour of the torso, and this hand probably rested on the upper surface of the base. The left arm is bent across the chest; its hand is missing, but the size of the break and a metal dowel (Benoit, 16) indicate that some large object was displayed. One of the fragments which constitute the third statue is part of a torque or collar held in that figure's right hand (H. de Gerin-Ricard and G. A. d'Agnel, *Les antiquités de la Vallée de l'Arc en Provence*, p. 29, no. 6). By analogy one may assume the same attribute for the more complete figure (Jacobs. thal, *Early Celtic Art* [1944] Text, p. 5).

The figure is clothed in a short, sleeveless tunic with vertical folds, a fringed hem, a girdle, and an engraved network of diamond patterns. A second article of apparel remains unexplained: a thick, rectangular dorsal section decorated with geometrical patterns covers the back of the figure from neck to thighs, while the smaller pectoral section is divided into two sections with stepped outline and crosses or meanders filling the squares. Jacobsthal (p. 6) attacks the description of Lantier and Gerin-Ricard, who took it for a stole or "chasuble," but admits that the construction cannot be explained in our present state of knowledge.

5a. Musée d'Aix-en-Provence. Fragment of a cross-legged figure from the sanctuary at Entremont (Bouches-du-Rhône). One leg bent under a thigh; of same style as Roquepertuse figures. Benoit, *op. cit.* 35, pl. xxxviii, 2.

5b. Musée de Nîmes. From Russan, *oppidum* of Marbacum (Gard). Torso of a similar figure wearing the so-called chasuble. Probably "accroupi" also, *ibid.* 36, pl. xxxvi, 1-2.

6. (L.20) E II, no. 1603 with bibl. Musée de Clermont-Ferrand. Discovered in 1833 at Longat (Puy-de-Dôme). Preserved ht: c. 0.90 m. Sandstone.

Draped torso of a man whose head, legs and arms are missing. He is seated in the "tailors' seat" upon a cushion. Traces of the right hand remain, crossing over the thigh and resting on the cushion between his legs (cf. Gaidoz, *RA* 1884, 2, p. 300). In the absence of the head and any attributes there can be no certainty that the statue represents Cernunnos.

7. (L.19) E II, no. 1589 with bibl. Musée de Rochecouart. From a well in Chassenon (Charente). Preserved ht: 0.60 m. Common limestone.

Male figure whose head is missing seated cross-legged. His garment forms a deep pocket between his thighs. His hands rest on his knees. There is a bracelet around his right ankle and a torque about his neck. Again there can be no certainty of identification.

8. (L.18) E II, no. 1566 with bibl. Nérès, Musée de l'établissement thermal. From Nérès (Allier). Ht: 0.88 m.

A nude male figure "accroupi" of very crude stiff-

ness and frontality. He wears a torque about his neck. Both hands are held before him, the left grasping a torque or "garland" which the right supports (cf. J. Barian, *Néris-les-Bains* [Montluçon 1867], 54: "... un personnage ayant les mains liées ensemble par un chaîne ..."). Although the head is preserved, destruction has completely erased the features. The figure cannot be identified as Cernunnos because he is without antlers, but it may be connected with his cult.

9. E III, no. 2332 with bibl. Autun, Musée de la société éduenne (Hôtel Rolin). Discovered in 1878 at Lantilly (Côte d'Or). Preserved ht: 0.45 m. Local stone.

A nude god seated normally on a low seat. Between his knees is placed a large bunch of grapes. The left hand rested palm up on his thigh, with the last three fingers closed. The right held the head of a large serpent. The tail of this serpent is described as being of fish form, which would connect the statue with the bronze statuette from Autun (Cat. A, no. 1). Both the head of the divinity and of the serpent are missing, making identification problematic.

10. E II, no. 1555 with bibl. Small stone statuette which, in 1882, was the property of M. Roubet, president of the Société nivernaise. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 26259. From La Guerche (Cher). Ht: 0.35 m. Common stone.

Divinity seated normally in a hieratic pose. In his left hand he holds a patera; his right steadies upon his knee a large purse from which coins escape. The god wears a tunic and *sagum*. The figure is not an "accroupi," nor is the head completely preserved, but it deserves inclusion in the tentative Cernunnos circle because of its analogy with the famous Reims stele (Cat. C, no. 1).

11. (L.21) E II, no. 1375 with bibl. Angoulême, Musée archéologique. From La Terne (Charente). Preserved ht: 0.37 m. Friable limestone. Destroyed above the waist.

Male figure clothed in a mantle which is fastened on his left shoulder. His hands are placed on his knees, between which rests a purse or vase. Although his legs are crossed, the figure is less in the "tailors' seat" than other examples and is not included in our discussion.

12. (L.23) E IX, no. 7033 with bibl. Mont Dore, Musée de l'établissement thermal. From Mont Dore (Puy-de-Dôme). Ht: 0.69 m. Sandstone.

A seated male figure wearing a mantle. His legs are broken away and, although he is so described, it seems doubtful that he was "accroupi." Beside his right arm there appear to be traces of the arm of a throne. The figure is beardless; his hair is strangely like a skull-cap, and there is no trace of horns. It seems unlikely that the sculpture was intended to represent Cernunnos or any members of his cult. It is therefore omitted from our discussion.

13. E IV, no. 3210. Meaux, private collection. Found at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne). Ht: c. 0.30 m. Soft stone.

A seated divinity clothed in a long tunic. He holds a large cornucopia-shaped sack (?) into which his right hand is inserted. On his forehead are two protuberances which have been referred to as "cornes naissantes" (G. Gassies, "Le dieu gaulois au sac," *REA* 7 [1905] 373), but these might merely represent a hair stylization similar to that of the god from Sommerécourt (no. 1).

14. (L.22) E V, no. 3731 with bibl. Brimont (Marne), collection of Vicomte A. Ruinart de Brimont. Unknown provenance. Ht: 0.28 m. Coarse limestone.

A nude figure in the "tailors' seat." The arms are lacking, but seem to have rested on the thighs. The face is extremely crude in execution and the body very flat. The figure leans so far forward that it approximates a hunchback. This statuette is consistently described as that of a man, but there appears to be something female in the conformation of the breasts (cf. no. 16).

Although this statuette probably derives from the Reims region in which so many monuments of the Cernunnos cult are centered, it is omitted from our discussion as problematic.

15. (L.28) E IV, no. 2882. Musée d'Auxerre. Found in 1891 near Auxerre (Yonne). Ht: 0.36 m. Soft limestone. The head is missing.

A male figure in the "tailors' seat," clothed in a long tunic and an "apron" fastened on each arm near the shoulder by a buckle and two straps. He wears a torque about his neck and a bracelet on each arm. In his right hand is an apple (?); his left raises the head of a child who is sleeping on his knees. At his right knee appears a beardless bust with a torque about its neck.

This enigmatic work cannot be connected specifically with Cernunnos, although, in all likelihood, it is to be placed in the wider sphere of his cult.

16. (L.27) E III, no. 2218 with bibl. Musée d'Avalon. From Étaules near Avallon (Yonne). Ht: 0.66 m. Soft limestone. The head and arms are lost.

A nude figure "accroupi," in the contorted pose in which each foot rests, sole up, on the opposite hip (cf. the Bouray statuette, Cat. A., no. 10). The body leans forward and is provided with heavy breasts and eight nipples on the belly. On the back appear very short crossed wings.

This statue was discovered at the site of a burial together with other funerary monuments. It illustrates an interesting syncretism: the normal mortuary sphinx utilizes the characteristic pose of the Celtic god of the underworld. Cf. F. Poullaine, "Tombeaux de pierre et monuments funéraires gallo-romains à Avallon," *Bull. archéol.* 1901, 23-26 ("génie funéraire").

17. (L.25) E III, no. 1804 with bibl. Lost statue, a

cast of which is preserved in the Musée de Roanne. Original from Saint-Galmier (Loire); formerly in the Noël collection. Ht: 0.55 m. The head is missing.

This statue is described as a nude, squatting man with a serpent twined about his body. Éspérandieu states that it represents, perhaps, a Mithraic divinity and that his chest has a "gibbosité" which is difficult to explain. From the very poor reproductions it seems clear that the figure is not a human being at all, but some animal, probably a bear. Thus it would have no place in our discussion.

Supplement: Terracotta

18. (L. 12 and fig. 11) Terracotta statuette, formerly in the collection of Leon Maître. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 35519. From Quilly (Loire-Inférieure). L. Maître, "Le dieu accroupi de Quilly," *Bull. d. l. soc. fr. d'anthropologie* 1899, 142-153.

A nude, beardless god in the "tailors' seat." His right arm is bent so that the open hand rests on his abdomen; at the extremity of the fingers a bird is depicted on his chest. On the right elbow appear three circles centered with stars. On the reverse of the figurine is engraved a scabbard, decorated with a large double circle and surrounded by nine smaller double circles framing stars.

This figurine bears no specific relation to Cernunnos, and has been omitted from our consideration. It is a further illustration of the fact that the cross-legged pose cannot be confined too narrowly to Cernunnos.

CATALOGUE C: STONE RELIEFS

1. (L. 29) E V, no. 3653 with bibl. Reims, Musée de Beaux-arts. Discovered in 1837 in the Rue Vauthierle-Noir, Reims (Marne) with other objects, including coins of Tiberius, Vespasian and Antoninus Pius. Cf. H. Bazin, *Reims, monuments et histoire* (1904) 19: "en guise d'ex voto, il était entouré de petites statuettes en terre cuite, Lucine, Cybèle, ou autres." Cast with restored antlers, Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 24414. Ht: 1.25 m.; width: 1.10 m.; thickness: 0.41 m. Local soft stone (fig. 13).

On a quadrangular block in the center of the relief Cernunnos is seated with crossed legs. He wears a mantle fastened on his left shoulder, a bracelet on his right upper arm and a torque about his neck; his legs are covered by Celtic *bracae*, and either the toes of his feet have not been indicated or they are encased in soft shoes. The god is richly bearded and has branching, four-pointed antlers growing from his head (these have been broken away but can be reconstructed from traces on the upper moulding of the stele). He holds a large sack from which round objects flow down to two antithetic animals, a bull and a stag, placed below

his seat. These round objects have been variously interpreted as coins, grains, beech-nuts or acorns.

To the right stands a figure of Mercury, clad in a mantle and wearing a winged petasos. His weight is borne by his right leg, while the left is flexed to the side. His right arm, holding a caduceus, is raised behind his head which is turned toward Cernunnos. In his left he grasps a large purse. At the other side of the seated god stands Apollo, nude save for a long piece of drapery placed on his left shoulder and falling behind him to be drawn forward over his right thigh. The right leg is bent and placed on a small base to provide support for this drapery. Apollo's right arm seems to have rested on his thigh; his left is raised to a lyre supported on an altar. Both attendant figures are of smaller proportions than the seated Cernunnos, and a rigid isocephaly is thus preserved. A rat is depicted in the pediment of the stele.

2. A fragment of a relief similar to no. 1, also from Reims, is reported by Maxe-Werly in the *Bull. d. l. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*, Séance of April 4, 1883, and is mentioned by Mowat, *Bull. épigraph. de la Gaule* 3 (1883) 172.

This fragment shows three masculine heads. The center one is horned, the right wears the winged petasos of Mercury, and the left is of a beardless type suitable for Apollo.

3. E IV, no. 3133 with extensive bibl. Paris, Musée Cluny. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 351. One face of the upper part of a quadrangular "altar" discovered in 1710 under the choir of Notre-Dame, Paris (Seine). Preserved ht: 0.47 m.; width and thickness: 0.75 m. (fig. 1).

Older drawings—as Montfaucon, *op. cit.* 2, pl. exc. 1—show above the god, the inscription *CERNUNNOS* (CIL XIII 3026 c) completely preserved, although much of it is illegible today.

Cernunnos appears to be clothed in a tunic. Although his head is bald, he has a heavy beard and moustache. In addition to normal ears, he is provided with those of an animal—undoubtedly borrowed from a stag like the antlers which flank them. From each antler a torque depends.

The relative proportions of this figure and of the standing figures on the remaining three faces ensure a reconstruction of the cross-legged pose for Cernunnos. It is entirely possible that a ram-headed serpent was included in the original composition.

4. E IV, no. 3015. Formerly in the Revellière collection. Cast Musée Saint-Germain. From Blain (Loire-Inférieure). Ht: 0.39 m.; width at center: 0.15 m.; thickness: 0.09 m. Red granite (or terracotta?) relief.

Nude, frontal Cernunnos standing on the back of an animal. Tall, unbranched antlers assure the identifica-

tion of the divinity. His left arm is raised, and his right hand seems to hold a purse (?). A wavy border along the left side of the stele has been suggested as a serpent.

This standing type of Cernunnos may be compared to the bronze statuettes in Cat. A, nos. 6 and 7, and to the rock carving of Val Camonica, although the pose of his arms and the use of an animal as his support were probably inspired by representations of Jupiter Dolichenus.

5. (L. 30) E II, no. 1539 with bibl. Musée de Chateauroux. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. 26244. Said to have been found at Vendeuvres (Indre) in 1865. Ht: 0.48 m.; width of front face: 0.61 m., of sides: 0.25 m. Common stone (fig. 4).

On the front face of this block appears Cernunnos seated in the usual "pose accroupi." He wears a tunic and mantle and is provided with antlers, but the child-like forms of his body contrast with normal representations. The two nude male figures standing on large serpents at either side of him likewise resemble erotes rather than adults. The young Cernunnos holds a large purse in his lap. One of his attendants, who grasp his antlers, holds a torque in his left hand; the other places one foot on an adjacent altar. The serpents are very large and thick; their heads have been so damaged that it is impossible to determine whether they were horned.

On the left face of the block a seated Apollo with nude torso and legs is represented playing a lyre. A basket stands beside him. The relief on the right face has been destroyed, but on analogy with the Reims stele (no. 1) one might restore a figure of Mercury.

6. E VI, no. 4726. Lost altar known from the drawings of Grivaud de la Vincelle (*Arts et Métiers* [1819] pl. cxi, 1-4) and an anonymous sketch in the library of the Musée Saint-Germain (cited in E as Album 14, fol. 81, but this is incorrect and a search in the collection has failed to reveal it). The altar was discovered in 1772 at Le Chatelet (Aube). Each figure is "one cubit" in height.

On one face Hercules, with a bird perched on his shoulder, is seen in combat with the Nemean lion, a composition which very closely resembles the Smerullos face of the Paris altar (no. 3 and text, pp. 28-31). The second face represents a draped Victory on a globe, holding a piece of her veil in one hand and a palm in the other. The third face reveals a draped goddess who grasps an open purse in one hand and a few coins in the other. The fourth face was described by J. Cl. Grignon, (*Bulletin [sic] des fouilles faites . . . d'une ville romaine, sur la petite montagne du Chatelet, entre Saint-Dizier et Joinville . . .* [Bar le Duc 1774] xlix-1) as depicting Midas "qui tient une bourse

fermée" and who dresses "en capucin." Éspérancieu remarks that this figure is more probably Mercury with two wings on his head which were mistaken for the ears of an ass; or that it is possibly Cernunnos. From Grivaud de la Vincelle's drawing one would be inclined to accept the latter identification, since the alleged "wings" look more like the stubs of antlers. Furthermore, scholars of the eighteenth century were fully aware of the fact that Mercury is characterized by wings in his hair and would have recognized them if there had not been something unusual about these cerebral appendages—unless, of course, the abnormal costume misled them.

Like the bronze statuettes and the Blain relief (no. 4) this would represent a survival of an older erect posture for Cernunnos, as it appears in the rock carving of Val Camonica. In the absence of the original, there can be no certainty concerning the identification, however.

7. E V no. 4195 with bibl. Luxembourg. Musée lapidaire. From Turbelsloch near Differdange. Ht: 1.20 m.; width: 0.80 m.; thickness: 0.40 m.—after G. Welter, *R.A.*, 1911, 1, p. 63.

In a niche appears a semi-draped male figure of a youthful genius type, holding in his left hand a cornucopia filled with fruits. To the left is the head of a bull in profile, now almost obliterated. In the lower left corner is represented the head of a stag vomiting round pieces of money onto a tablet. See text, pp. 41, 44.

8. E III, no. 2083 with bibl. Musée de Beaune. Cast Musée Saint-Germain, inv. no. 9286. Discovered in an ancient well at Beaune (Côte d'Or). Ht: 0.78 m.; width: 0.49 m.; thickness: 0.22 m. Soft limestone. Very damaged.

A *sacellum* in the triangular gable of which appears a bust of Diana (?) with a crescent on her head. Within the niche are depicted three divinities: from left to right, a seated nude god whose left hand rests on a cornucopia and who seemingly offers some food to an animal ("dog") with his right; a seated nude tricephalic divinity, without a beard, who holds a cornucopia with both hands (snakes on his knees?); a standing nude god with a mantle over his shoulders who has tall horns and the legs of a goat and who carries a cornucopia in his right hand. The latter figure has been connected with Cernunnos, but it clearly represents Pan, whose goat-horns were usually strongly elongated in Gallo-Roman art (cf. J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, 2, pp. 69-71, nos. 409-414 especially). The relief is connected with the Cernunnos cult, however (see text, p. 44).

THE BYZANTINE INSCRIPTIONS OF CONSTAN-
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THE BYZANTINE INSCRIPTIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY*

C. A. MANGO

THE project of a corpus covering all Christian Greek inscriptions has, since its formulation in 1898, been presented to congress after congress, and meeting invariably with approval, has never been accomplished.¹ The principles of publication and chronological limits set down have, however, been applied to collections of inscriptions from Mistra,² Mount Athos,³ Egypt,⁴ and Asia Minor,⁵ while for the south of Russia we possess the work of V. V. Latyšev.⁶ A more recent proposal by Prof. N. Bees, who had in view the Balkans only, has so far resulted in the appearance of the first instalment of the *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas*, which deals with the Isthmus of Corinth⁷ on a scale that seems rather ambitious.

The Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople have never been brought together within the compass of a single work. To do so would be a vast undertaking, but one of great usefulness to the Byzantine scholar who at present has to refer to scores of obscure publications, often unobtainable. In this article I have attempted to draw up a bibliography in the hope that it may facilitate the eventual publication of a Corpus,

and in the meantime serve as a guide to the existing literature. I can claim no degree of completeness as the material is very scattered and there are few bibliographical aids. The only two that I am aware of are the brief survey by R. Janin of epigraphical discoveries at Constantinople between 1918 and 1938,⁸ and the rather random list of Prof. Arif Müfid Mansel in his otherwise valuable bibliography of archaeological work in Turkey.⁹ As for collections of inscriptions, the most extensive is C. G. Curtis and S. Aristarchis, *Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ Βυζαντίου*, (Constantinople 1885);¹⁰ but it must be used with care, especially when restitutions of missing parts are proposed.

The period covered in this article is between the foundation of Constantinople and its fall in 1453. Latin inscriptions put up by the Genoese and other Western settlers are not dealt with; for those that appear on the walls of Galata the reader may be referred to the work of J. Gottwald¹¹ as well as that of A. M. Schneider and M. Is. Nomidis,¹² while the funerary monuments have been covered by E. Dalleggio d'Alessio in a series of articles.¹³ The Greek and Roman epigraphy of

* I should like to thank those who have helped me towards collecting material for this article, and in particular M. M. Is. Nomidis, Dr. A. M. Schneider, and M. Ernest Mamboury; also Bay Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu, director of the Ayasofya Museum, Bay Nezih Firatlı and Bayan Seniha Morali, both of the Museum of Antiquities, Istanbul, for many facilities granted, and M. Fr. Dapola for the use of his excellent library.

¹ For a brief history of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*, see the article *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie* 7 (1926) col. 624.

² G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *BCH* 23 (1899) 97-156.

³ G. Millet, J. Pargoire and L. Petit, *Recueil des Inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont-Athos* (Paris 1904).

⁴ G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907).

⁵ H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques*

chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure, 1er fasc. (Paris 1922).

⁶ *Sbornik grečeskikh nadpisej khristianskikh eremen iz Yužnoj Rossii* (St. Petersburg 1896).

⁷ Edited by H. Lietzmann, N. A. Bees and G. Soteriou, Bd. I: *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnesos* by N. A. Bees; Lief. 1, *Isthmos-Korinthos* (Athens 1941).

⁸ In *Échos d'Orient* (hereafter referred to as *EO*) 38 (1939) 408-410.

⁹ *Türkiyenin Arkeoloji Epigrafi ve Tarihi Coğrafyası için Bibliografya* (Ankara 1948) 496-499.

¹⁰ Being the supplement to vol. 16 of the *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σὺλλογος* (hereafter referred to as *ΚΕΦΣ*).

¹¹ *Die Stadtmauern von Galata in Bosphorus, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Ausflugs-Vereins 'G. Albert'* (Istanbul 1907) 61-72.

¹² *Galata* (Istanbul 1944) 7-14.

¹³ Especially "Les inscriptions latines funéraires de Constantinople au Moyen Âge," *EO* 31 (1932) 188-206.

Byzantium forms naturally a field apart, and includes some famous monuments like the Serpent Column, which are the subject of a considerable literature. The most important collection of such ancient inscriptions is that of P. A. Déthier and A. D. Mordtmann, "Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis," *Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 13 (1864), and among older works G. Dousa, *De itinere suo Constantinopolitano epistola* (Leyden 1599) 93 ff.

With the exception of the Hebdomon I have omitted the environs of Constantinople from this survey. The Byzantine inscriptions that they have yielded so far are mostly tombstones and of little interest. With regard to Chalcedon, the reader may be referred to the article *Chalcédoine* in Cabrol-Leclercq 3 (1914), col. 95 and 124-128.

The Museum of Antiquities at Istanbul and the Ayasofya Museum possess a great number of unpublished and sometimes uncatalogued inscriptions from Constantinople, the greater part being funerary. As it would have been impossible to enumerate them all here, I have limited myself to mentioning the most remarkable ones. An article on this subject by V. Laurent is soon due to appear in the *Revue des études byzantines*. A publication of all this fresh material would greatly enrich our knowledge of the field.

THE LAND WALLS

The most complete collection of the inscriptions on the Land Walls, including a number of previously unpublished graffiti, is that found in B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1943) 123-144. Each inscription is accompanied by a bibliography, so I have thought it superfluous to repeat the same references here. A handier guide which gives the exact place of every inscription as well as the text in facsimile reproduction is ΜΙΣΝ, *Χάρτης τῶν χειρσαίων τευχῶν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς Κων/πόλεως μετὰ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ τῶν πέριξ βυζαντινῶν ναῶν καὶ μονῶν* (Istanbul 1938). It omits, however, the important inscription on the gate south of the Sigma, first published by Schneider, who attributes it to Justinian II (*BZ* 38 [1938] 408). A further fragment of doubtful meaning has been discovered by O. Davies, who gives it in *JRS* 36 (1946) 223. I may here

add a fresh one, which seems to have escaped attention. It is imbedded in the wall of a factory just outside the Yedi Kule gate and bears . . . ΜΝΕΥΣΕ . . . in very large letters.

Of older books that deal with the inscriptions of the Land Walls the following are essential:

A. G. Paspatis, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται* (Constantinople 1877) 34-61, where 41 inscriptions are given, including the enigmatic ΚΩΝC-TANINOV ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ (p. 57, no. 34).

A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and the Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899) 40, 60, 69 n. 1, 79, 96, 97-102, 104-108, 112-113, 124, 126, 132, 168-169.

H. Lietzmann, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1929) 19-27. 44 inscriptions are given.

The inscriptions of the Blachernae walls have also been published, not without mistakes, by Jean B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Salonica 1928) 84-86. A far better edition is by Schneider and Meyer, "Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel," *Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 32 (1933) 12-14.

Three inscriptions which have found their way into the Museum of Antiquities are given by Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* II, nos. 784, 785 and 786. The latter two had been previously edited by P. A. Déthier, *Études archéologiques (Oeuvre posthume)* (Constantinople 1881) 33-34. An inscription of John Palaeologus of the year 1438 from the vicinity of the Seven Towers is in the Berlin Museum. See O. Wulff, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, III, 2, no. 2220.

The tombstones of the Gothic foederati found in 1868 during the demolition of a tower north of Sulu Kule Kapısı were partially published by Curtis and Aristarchis, nos. 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97. But see especially Schneider in *Germania* 21 (1937) 175-177, who comments upon the older edition of Fiebigler and Schmidt in *Denkschr. der Oesterr. Ak. d. Wiss.* 60 (1917) Abh. 3, nos. 273-278.

Some other studies connected with the epigraphy of the Land Walls, which deserve special mention, are the following:

(1) Déthier discovered and published a fragmentary inscription between Topkapı and Mevlevihane Kapısı (*Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople* [1867] 5), which mentions a certain George. The rather fantastic interpretation he proposed was corrected by Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille 1892) 15.

(2) Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros* (Pesth 1822) I, p. XI, no. 27, saw the following letters on an inverted stone in the lower story of the Tekfur Saray: ΑΦΕΡΟΥΞΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΜΕΜ... They have since disappeared.

(3) Mordtmann, "Επιγραφικά ἐκ Κων/πόλεως," *Παρνασσός* 1 (1877) 620-621, and Meliopoulos, "Ἐξέλεγξις βυζαντινῶν τινῶν ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ προσθήκαι in *BZ* 7 (1898) 332-335 make certain corrections of Paspatis.

(4) The famous Latin inscription of Theodosius over the Golden Gate is no longer extant, but the holes of the component letters were checked by Strzygowski, "Das Goldene Thor in Constantinopel," *JDAI* 8 (1893) 8. The inscription was apparently seen last by Dallaway *Constantinople Ancient and Modern* (London 1797) 17, note m.

(5) Part of an inscription of John Palaeologus, originally belonging to the walls, was found in 1918 near the church of the Panaghia in the quarter Exi Marmara. It is published by Lehmann-Hartleben (*BNJ* 3 [1922] 114 and fig. 8), who also reprints another broken inscription of the same emperor seen by the eighteenth century Italian traveller Sestini (*BNJ* 3 [1922] 361). Cf. also Gedeon, *Βυζαντινῶν ἐπιγραφῶν ἡ τελευταία, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 6 (1922) 366-369.

(6) The painted inscriptions in Greek and Latin on the marble pylons of the Golden Gate were first edited (quite incorrectly) by Siderides in *KEΦΣ*, Supp. to vol. 20 (1892) 18, and then again (not quite rightly) by W. R. Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Aberdeen 1906) 267-270. An exact copy is to be found in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, no. 9 (a and b). See also Macridy and Casson in *Archaeologia* 81 (1931) 72-73, figs. 3, 4 and pl. xxxiv, 2 (the painted sundial).

(7) A restitution of the inscription on tower 54 (*Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, ἀτάραχον*, etc.) differing from

that of Lietzmann was proposed by R. M. Dawkins in *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 239-240.

(8) Three Palaeologian inscriptions otherwise unknown, of the emperors Manuel, John, and Andronicus, were seen by an anonymous Greek author in the sixteenth century. Cf. *BZ* 21 (1912) 468, 470.

(9) The shield of the Palaeologi with four B's around a cross, once visible at Tekfur Saray, is pictured by Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, pt. II, no. 67. It may be the same as the one now built into the base of the campanile of the Greek church Παναγία τῆς Σούδας. A similar shield in the Museum comes from Galata (see below); cf. also the one from Yoros Kalesi on the Bosphorus published by S. Toy in *Archaeologia* 80 (1930) pl. LXXVI.

(10) Another shield from Tekfur Saray bearing the monogram of the Palaeologi was first published by Ismael Boulliau in his notes on Ducas, ch. 37 (1649), and read Πάσχα. The Patriarch Constantius, *Κωνσταντινιάς παλαιά τε καὶ νεωτέρα*, 2nd ed. (1844) speaks of the shield as still existing. Other instances of this monogram, which undoubtedly belongs to the Palaeologi (as is proved by the parapet plaque in the Istanbul Museum, no. 724; Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, p. 520) are found on a capital from the vicinity of the Bayazit mosque (Macridy in *Ἐπετηρίς ἑταιρείας βυζαντ. σπουδῶν* [1931] 333) and on two broken ciborium slabs (the first published by Siderides in *KEΦΣ*, Suppl. to vol. 20/21 [1892] 17 and Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, p. 508, the second by Macridy, *op. cit.* 336, and by Unger in *AI* 1916, 27).

(11) The two inscriptions of Constantine III or IV on the gate τοῦ Ἑρσίου are studied and restored by Grégoire in *Byz.* 13 [1938] 165-175. A different reading is suggested by Dölger, *BZ* 38 [1938] 582-583. Cf. Mazzarino in *Epigraphica* (2 Milan 1940) 302.

THE SEA WALLS

Unlike those of the Land Walls, the inscriptions of the walls along the Sea of Marmora have never been collected in a convenient form. Only part of them have been published adequately—those between the Seraglio Point and Ahır Kapı. However, even with regard to that sector, there is considerable doubt as to the exact number of inscriptions that have once existed

and were reported by Western travellers. This is especially the case with the inscriptions of Theophilus, all conceived roughly in the same terms. It is difficult to determine when a separate inscription ought to be postulated, and when the differences in reading should be attributed to a faulty copy. In most cases too the indications of provenance are of the vaguest kind. Who, for example, could identify the facsimile given by Salzenberg (*Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* [1854] pl. XXXVIII, 14) which reads ΤΥΡΓΟΘΕΟΦ [ἰδου, and is labelled "Inscription der Stadtmauer?"

I would also hesitate to say anything definite about two inscriptions of Theophilus which were seen in 1652 by the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch (*Patrologia Orientalis* 22 [1930] 94).

The list I am giving here is therefore tentative. The direction is from the Castle of the Seven Towers to the Seraglio Point.

(1) Over a gate of the Sea Walls quite close to the Castle of the Seven Towers is reported an inscription, now lost, of Basil II and Constantine IX. See Spon *Voyage d'Italie*, etc. (1678) III, p. 100, no. 4; Tournefort, I, p. 180.

(2) An inscription of Theophilus, also destroyed, is given by von Hammer, *op. cit.* p. X, no. 23 as being "auf den Seemauern gegen die sieben Thürme."

(3) On the inscription of Manuel Comnenus at Narlı Kapı, dated 1163/4, see esp. Millingen, *Walls* 187, and Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 60. Also found in an erroneous form in *CIG* 8734 (after Spon, III, p. 101), Tournefort, I, p. 180, von Hammer, p. VI, no. 12. Cf. also E. Gren in *Eranos* 44 (1946) 221-222.

(4) The sixteenth century anonymous Greek author mentions an inscription of Basil I near Daut Kapı (*BZ* 21 [1912] 470).

(5) An inscription of Michael (perhaps originally Theophilus and Michael III) at the entrance of the harbor of Eleutherius, is reproduced by Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 59. Cf. Oberhammer *s.v.* "Constantinopolis" in *RE* 7 (1900) 983. Perhaps the same as that given by von Hammer, p. X, no. 24 and other authors.

(6) An inscription of George, despot of Serbia, dated A.D. 1448, from a tower between Yenikapi and Kumkapı is now at the Museum (no. 1647). See esp. Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, p. 577; A. D. Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Con-*

stantinopels (Stuttgart 1858) 132; Fr. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica* (Vienna 1858) no. CCLIV; Millingen, *Walls* 193.

(7) The coat of arms of Andronicus III (ca. 1317), and underneath it four medallions containing monograms, appeared near the harbor of Contoscali. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 147 and pl. 3, no. 18; Millingen, *Walls* 189.

(8) An inscription of Leo and Alexander used to be seen on a tower east of the Contoscali pier. Paspatis in *KEΦΣ* 6 (1873) 48; Μελέται 101; Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 57; Millingen, *Walls* 186.

(9) "At the Arsenal" (Kadrga Limanı?). A highly suspicious inscription of Theophilus recording the building of an arsenal is given by Thevet, *La cosmographie universelle* (Paris 1575) II 833; repeated by Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1602) p. CLXIX, 3; Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* (1680) lib. II, 156; *CIG*, 8680.

(10) Inscription broken in two and serving as side posts of a little gate near the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. The text is taken from the Psalter and Habakkuk. See Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 55; Millingen, *Walls* 263.

(11) Inscription of an emperor Constantine over the sea gate of the Bucoleon Palace. See Mamboury and Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1934) fig. 5 and pp. 7-8. Fig. 8 pictures graffiti from the same gate.

(12) The projecting tower west of the "House of Justinian" bears a very fragmentary inscription that probably belongs to the Roman period. It has never been published, so I am giving a copy of it, although it does not really fall within the scope of this survey.

ΛΘΗΙ

ΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΣΑΤΟ

The first line probably read 'Αγαθὴ τύχη.

(13) Two small fragments of an inscription immediately to the east of the old lighthouse tower reading ΟΥΤ and ΦΗΓ (Π?). Unpublished.

(14) Somewhere between Çatladı Kapı and Ahır Kapı an inscription of Lucas Notaras, now lost. Mordtmann, *Belagerung* 143; Millingen, *Walls* 192.

(15) Second tower to the west of Ahır Kapı.

Mutilated inscription relating to a repair. See Millingen, *Walls* 187, n. 4.

(16) A metrical inscription of Basil I on the first tower to the west of Ahr Kapısı. See Millingen, *Walls* 186. Incomplete and mistaken copies in Spon, III 101-2; Tournefort, I 180; von Hammer, I, p. VIII, no. 17; *CIG* 8687.

(17) Somewhere near Ahr Kapısı. Inscriptions of Theophilus dated 837 and extant in the sixteenth century on three towers. See *BZ* 21 (1912) 471.

(18) Fragment reading . . . PATOP . . . , perhaps of Theophilus, just north of the walled up postern below the Gülhane hospital. See Demangel and Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (1939) 78 and fig. 91.

(19) To the north of the above. Inscription of Theophilus with the last two words reversed. *CIG* 8675; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 125; Demangel and Mamboury 71.

(20) On the same tower as the above. Inscription of Leo and Alexander dated 906. See Demangel and Mamboury in *BCH* 60 (1936) 208 ff.; *Le quartier des Manganes* 71-72 and fig. 78.

(21) Fragmentary inscription of Theophilus given by Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 125 as being south of İncili Köşk. It has since disappeared.

(22) On the 7th tower south of Deirmen Kapısı. An inscription perhaps of Basil II and Constantine IX. Restored date 1006. See von Hammer, p. V, no. 7; *CIG* 8699; Millingen 187, n. 4.

(23) Beautiful inscription taken from the Psalter on a marble lintel broken in two. Now it is on the inside of a walled up gate. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 101; Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 53; Millingen 258, n. 6; Demangel and Mamboury 73 and fig. 84.

(24) Mutilated inscription made up of tiles on the façade of St. Savior Philanthropos. See Demangel and Mamboury 51, n. 3 and fig. 53; cf. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Kpl.* (Hannover 1925) 11 and fig. 3.

(25) North of the above. Fragment reading AVTOKPA . . . , probably of Theophilus. Demangel and Mamboury 54 and fig. 58.

(26) About 50 m. to the north of St. Savior Philanthropos. Fragment reading αὐτοκρατ] WPWN+, perhaps Theophilus and Michael. Demangel and Mamboury, fig. 59.

(27) Originally north of İncili Köşk, now in

the Museum in three fragments (nos. 1654, 2476, 2363). Inscription of Michael III referring to a repair executed by his uncle Bardas. See esp. Mendel, *Catalogue* II pp. 572-4. Cf. also von Hammer, I, p. VII, no. 14; *CIG* 8797; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 136; Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 53; Millingen 185 and pl. facing p. 184; Demangel and Mamboury 67, n. 8. On the back of no. 2476 is the monogram of Christ, and on a circular medallion the words Κύριε βοήθη τῷ κόμη[τῷ].

Another inscription mentioning Bardas and reading ἐπ'ΗΡΕΤΟΥΝΤΟC ΑΝΔΡΟC ΕΥΝΟΜΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΡΔΑ ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΟΥ was twice published by Muratori as being "in turri palatii olim Constantiniani" (*Norus Thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* [Milan 1740] II p. DCLXXXII, 5 and IV, p. MMXXI, 4). Reprinted *CIG* 8692.

(28) On a tower north of Deirmen Kapısı. Fragment bearing αὐτοκράτ]ΟΡΟC, perhaps Theophilus. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 124; Demangel and Mamboury 11 and fig. 14.

(29) Complete inscription of Theophilus on a tower just south of the destroyed Tabhane mosque. *CIG* 8674 (where further references are given); Millingen 183; Demangel and Mamboury fig. 13.

(30) Near the above. Complete inscription of Theophilus over which is a cross with the formula ΙC ΧC ΝΙΚΑ. Demangel and Mamboury fig. 12; Millingen 183. Perhaps the same as *CIG* 8673 (after von Hammer, I, p. VII, no. 13 and p. IX, no. 21).

(31) Great inscription of Theophilus (over 18 m. long) just to the north of Odun Kapısı. The end is missing. See von Hammer, I, p. IV, no. 5, and p. IX, no. 20; *CIG* 8672; Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 51; Millingen 183; and esp. Demangel and Mamboury 10 and fig. 11.

(32) From the Seraglio Point. Two fragments of an inscription of Theophilus, now in the Museum (no. 2477). See Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, p. 574. Perhaps the same as Millingen 184.

(33) From the Seraglio Point. Fragment reading ΜΙΧ]ΑΗΛ ΠΙCΤΩΝ given by Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 134. Probably the same as *CIG* 8678, which was seen by Spon, Wheler, Tournefort, Chishull and von Hammer, and has been published after re-discovery by Unger in *AA* 1916, 22, who also gives two small fragments, the one reading Θεοφιλο]V ΠΙCΤ[οῦ and the other αὐτοκρατόρ] WΝ+.

(34) On the first tower to the east of the gate of St. Barbara. Inscription of Theophilus and Michael III. Below the symbol IC XC NIKA round a cross. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 133.

(35) Near the gate of St. Barbara. Von Hammer (I, p. IV, no. 4, p. V, no. 8, and p. VI, no. 10) has published three fragments speaking of Theophilus who had "renewed this city." *CIG* 8679; Millingen 184.

(36) On the west flanking tower of the gate of St. Barbara. Inscription of Theophilus "faithful emperor of the Romans." See *BZ* 21 (1912) 468, and cf. Th. Smith, *Constantinopoleos brevis notitia* in *Opuscula* (Rotterdam 1716) 75, and *CIG* 8677.

THE WALLS ALONG THE GOLDEN HORN

The inscriptions of this sector of the walls have never been adequately published. The only list is that drawn up by Curtis and Aristarchis over sixty years ago, but a good part of what it records has since disappeared.

(1) West of Topkapı gate: two fragments of an inscription of Michael II and Theophilus. Next to it was the bas-relief of a woman martyr, probably St. Barbara, and a suppliant. See Curtis, *Broken Bits*, I, no. 1; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 111.

(2) An inscription of the emperor Julian *εἰς τὴν Εὐγενίου πόρταν* is to be found in *Anthol. Pal.* 9.689.

(3) Odun Kapısı: above the gate, both on the outside and on the inside was to be seen in the sixteenth century the legend *Μνήμη θανάτου χρησμεύει* (sic) *τὸν βίον*. See Preger in *BZ* 21 (1912) 469; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, (Frankfurt 1674) 454; Thomas Smith, *Epistolae quatuor* (Oxford 1672) 88; Mercati in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 219.

(4) Inscription of Manuel Phakrases Cantacuzenus surmounted by a lion rampant, east of Cubali Kapısı. See Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 148; Millingen, *Walls* 191. The sixteenth century anonymous Greek writer mistakenly reads *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ* (*BZ* 21 [1912] 469).

(5) Fragment of a marble slab west of the Yeni Kapı reading . . . ΓΥΡΩ. See Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 142, and pl. 1, no. 15.

(6) A block inscribed with the name of St. Pantoleon, and a peacock on either side used to be seen near Aivan Saray Kapısı. See Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 28; Millingen, *Walls* 196.

(7) On the walls of the Petron: a series of nine round medallions, some bearing traces of lettering, the meaning of which it is impossible to establish. Curtis and Aristarchis (no. 109 and pl. 3, no. 12) propose a fanciful restoration. Cf. also Gedeon, *Ἐγγράφοι λίθοι καὶ Κεράμια* (Constantinople 1893) 118; ΜΙΣΣ, *Τὸ Πετρίον τοῦ Κερατίου Κόλπου*, (1938) 25. What appears to be the same set of monograms has been copied, if somewhat freely, by the sixteenth century anonymous writer (*BZ* 21 [1912] 467). His transcription includes the names of the emperors Leo VI and Alexander.

(8-24) Curtis and Aristarchis list 16 inscriptions of Theophilus, in two of which his name is preceded by that of Michael II, and in five succeeded by that of Michael III (see Millingen, *Walls* 184). The one near Cubali Kapısı was also noticed by the Greek anonymous writer (*BZ* 21, 469). Some are very fragmentary. See Curtis and Aristarchis, nos. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 128 (pl. 1, no. 10), 129 (pl. 1, no. 11), 130, 131, 132.

THE CHURCHES

I. St. Sophia

(1) The palindrome inscription on the fountain, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus (*Anthol. Palat.* 16.387**, Dübner, II, p. 608) is sometimes held to have survived the Turkish conquest. Gruterus (*Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* [1602] p. MXLVII, 9) gives a woodcut of it and specifies "Constantinopoli, erutum nuper in labro marmoreo," but this may have belonged to another church as similar inscriptions were common. Grelot (*Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* [Paris 1681] 160) implies that he has seen it engraved in golden letters on the two great water vessels inside St. Sophia. Lethaby and Swainson (*The Church of Sancta Sophia* [1894] 84, 190-191), after examining the evidence, conclude that it is not very positive. See also S. Pétridès, "Les 'Karkinoi' dans la littérature grecque," *EO* 12 (1909) 88-89; E. Gren in *Eranos* 44 (1946) 223-228.

Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* (Berlin 1941) 30 n. 1 (*Istanbul Forschungen*, bd. 12) argues that the inscription which the travellers saw did not belong to St. Sophia.

(2) An inscription on a marble lintel prohibit-

ing the entry of the ungodly (? or of evil) within the church was found near the present south-west door, and removed in 1869. It is given in facsimile by Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, pt. II, no. 3. See also Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 81; Antoniadès "Εκφρασις τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας I (1907) 145; Lethaby and Swainson 188; and especially S. G. Mercati, "Pretesa iscrizione della porta dell'Orologio" *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 201-203, who questions the restitution of Curtis.

(3) The invocation of a certain Julius on a stylobate from the Theodosian atrium was found by Dr. Schneider in 1935 (*Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche* 20, no. 1).

(4) The extremely interesting series of monograms on the bronze doors of the Horologion was first seen by Grelot, *op. cit.* 121. Cf. Salzenberg, *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (1854) 89, and pl. XIX; the Patriarch Constantius, Βιογραφία καὶ Συγγραφαὶ αἱ Ἑλάσσονες, (Constantinople 1866) 394. A facsimile was first given by Curtis and Aristarchis, pl. III, no. 13 (reproduced by Grosvenor, *Constantinople* [London 1895] II 545). They also conjectured that Μιχαὴλ νικητῶν was preceded by Θεοφίλου καὶ which was removed after the Council of 842, and that the two medallions with Μιχαὴλ δεσπότην and κόσμον ἡμῶν ἰνδ. δ' had originally Ἰωάννη πατριάρχῃ and κόσμον ἡμῶν ἰνδ. β' (A.D. 838. *Ibid.* pl. III, nos. 14, 15). This view is endorsed by Antoniadès (I 149), who also gives beautiful facsimile illustrations of the inscription. Cf. Lethaby and Swainson 269-271, and Schneider, *Grabung im Westhof* 7, n. 1.

(5) The inscriptions referring to Constantine the Great and Justinian on the mosaic of the south vestibule have been published by Whittemore, *Second Preliminary Report* (1936) 24-26, and pls. XIX, XX. On details of lettering see Appendix 126-137.

(6) Bronze hood-mould of the Royal Gate: an open gospel inscribed with a sacred text (John 10.7, 9). See Salzenberg 87 and pl. XVIII, fig. 3; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 139; Antoniadès I 176 and pl. XL.

(7) The inscription on the mosaic picture of Christ in the narthex has been first published by Salzenberg 100 and pl. XXVII, and after him by Kondakov, *Vizantijskija Tserkvi i Pamjatniki Konstantinopolja* (Odessa 1886) 125; Antoniadès I 167. Mr. Whittemore, who uncovered the

mosaic again, gives the inscription in his *Preliminary Report on the First Year's Work* (1933) 16 and pl. XIX. Cf. ΜΙΣΝ, Τὰ Μωσαϊκὰ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας (Istanbul 1938) 15.

(8) On the arch above the apse the letters ΒΕΙCΠΑΛΙΝ in mosaic have been read by Antoniadès (III 29-31 and fig. 574) who recognized in them the end of a well-known epigram (*Anthol. Palat.* 1.1). It must have been inscribed after the defeat of the Iconoclasts in 842. See also Mercati in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 204-205, and E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (1940) 148. An incorrect version had been given by Salzenberg 108, and Lethaby and Swainson 278, 283, while Fossati, *Relievi storico-artistici sulla architettura bizantina* (Milan 1890) published one that is quite imaginary. Good photograph in *The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul* (The Byzantine Institute 1950) pl. 29.

(9) A mosaic of the Virgin standing upright and holding the infant Christ was seen on the left hand side of the apse by Theodore Aristoclis in 1848. Around the image was a text of Luke (1.46-48) also in mosaic. See Constantius, *Συγγραφαὶ αἱ Ἑλάσσονες* 403, n. 1; Antoniadès, III 33; ΜΙΣΝ, *op. cit.* 56.

(10) Under the above Aristoclis saw a mosaic of John Palaeologus (1341-1391) with an accompanying inscription (*loc. cit.*) Cf. Antoniadès, III 71; ΜΙΣΝ, 55.

(11) In the east part of the ceiling E. D. Clark saw the remains of an inscription recording the expenditure of 50 talents of gold (*Travels in Various Countries* [London 1812] II 35-36; reprinted *CIG* 8881). Antoniadès (III 66) thought that it referred to the repair of the apse and eastern part of the dome by John Palaeologus, but it should in fact be attributed to Romanus III. The complete text of the inscription is given by Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* (Paris 1680) lib. III, p. 27 (cf. ΜΙΣΝ, *op. cit.* 37-38). For a more correct version see Mercati in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 211-216, and Mgr. Efstratiadis in *Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Μελωδός*, I (Paris 1932) 12-13.

(12) Top of the south tympanum: a fragmentary inscription mentioning "immortal wisdom." See Salzenberg 105; Kondakov, *Tserkvi* 127; Antoniadès, III 54; ΜΙΣΝ, 49; Lethaby and Swainson, 277; and in particular Mercati in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 206-211.

(13) South tympanum: image of the Prophet

Isaiah holding in his left hand a scroll inscribed with Is. 7.14. Underneath the word Κύριε in monogram form. See Salzenberg 105; Antoniadès, III 51; ΜΙΣΝ, 47.

(14) North tympanum: image of Jeremiah holding a scroll inscribed οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕρεπος πρὸς αὐτόν. See Salzenberg, pl. xxx; Antoniadès III 52; ΜΙΣΝ, 48.

(15) North tympanum: over the head of Jonas was the fragmentary word . . . ΝΤΙΔΟC. Near it was a foot wearing a sandal, and the remains of a white robe, perhaps of an angel. See Lethaby and Swainson 277; Antoniadès, III 54 and n. 187 completes Βυζαντιδός; ΜΙΣΝ, 48; but see especially Mercati in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 206-211.

(16) North central gallery: the name of Timothy the Sacristan scratched in large letters. See Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, II, no. 8; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 105 date it from the seventh century; Antoniadès, II 351 and fig. 517 (facsimile after a rubbing).

(17) Same place: "Theodora of Byzantium." See Curtis, *Broken Bits*, II, no. 7b; Antoniadès, II 352 and fig. 518.

(18) Same place: inscription marking "the station of Theodora, the most illustrious patrician," not the empress of that name, as believed by Diehl (*Justinien* [Paris 1901] 478, n. 2). See Curtis, *Broken Bits*, II, no. 7a; Antoniadès, II 352 and fig. 519.

(19) Near the second window from the south in the western gallery the words ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ, etc. (Matth. 3. 17) were seen by Dr. Covel (1670-1677) on an image of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and ΟΥΤΟC again between Moses and Elijah. See Lethaby and Swainson 287-288; ΜΙΣΝ, 34, and especially Schneider in *Freiburger Diözesan Archiv* 69 (1949) 247.

(20) The inscriptions accompanying the recently discovered portraits of Constantine Monomachus, Zoe, John Commenus, Irene, and Alexius Comnenus are given by Whittemore, *The Mosaics of H. Sophia at Istanbul, Third Report* (Oxford 1942) 14, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27 and plates. Pl. XXXVII reproduces Fossati's drawing of the mosaic of the Emperor Alexander bearing four inscribed medallions. Cf. Schneider in *JDAl* 59/60 (1944/45) col. 72-74 and pl. 24, 25.

(21) The epitaph of Henricus Dandolo in the south gallery has been published by Curtis, *Broken Bits*, II, nos. 13, 17; Curtis and Aris-

tarchis, no. 143; Paspatis, Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται 339 (who thought that the lettering was recent); Lethaby and Swainson 297; Antoniadès II 316-317 and figs. 420, 421.

(22) A multitude of graffiti, mostly Byzantine, have been collected by Antoniadès: I figs. 197, 198; II figs. 238, 255, 295, 315, 320, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428 (restored incorrectly by Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 145, and given after a rubbing by Curtis, *Broken Bits*, II, no. 16), 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 459, 460, 461, 462, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492, 493, 494, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546.

II. St. John of Studios

The epitaph of the Russian monk Dionysius, dated Sept. 1387, has been published by Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 149, and pl. 1, no. 17. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London 1912) 48 provides an English translation.

III. SS. Sergius and Bacchus

The great inscription in honor of St. Sergius which runs all round the frieze of the church was first published by Nicholas Alemannus in his notes to the *Historia Arcana* of Procopius (1623) p. 48 (copied from a Vatican codex), and after him by Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* lib. IV, p. 136. It is given also by von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros* p. xii, no. 31; Salzenberg 42 (with a German translation); Constantius Κωνσταντινιάς 80; Skarlatos Byzantios, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολις, I 266; *CIG* 8639. The first entirely satisfactory transcription is that of Déthier, "Facsimile der Inschrift in der Kleinen Hagia Sophia," *Sitzungsberichte der phil. hist. Classe der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften (Wien)* 27 (1858) 164-173. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* I 412-413 gives an English translation. See also Pulgher, *Les anciennes églises byzantines de Constantinople* (Vienna 1878) 16; Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Žurnal ministertva narodnago prosvjēdenija* (St. Petersburg Sept. 1902) *old. klass. filologii* 433-434; Millingen, *Churches* 73-74 and fig. 20 (facsimile); Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris 1913) 24; Antoniadès, I 12. On the manuscript tradition see Mercati in *Rend. della Pont. Acad. Rom. di Arch.* 3 (1925) 197-205.

The monograms which occur on the capitals have been studied by H. Swainson in *BZ* 4 (1895) 106-108.

IV. *St. Irene*

There are two inscriptions in mosaic on the bema arch. The inner one is from Psalm 65.5-6, while the outer one is taken from Amos 9.6 and from Psalm 32.21. A few letters have been restored in painted plaster. The first edition (not quite correct) is that of Bjeljaev in *Vizant. Vremennik* 1 (1894) 781; see also 2 (1895) 177-183. Corrected by Ebersolt, *Églises* 68; cf. Millingen, *Churches* 95-96. The best edition is that of W. S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople* (London 1912) 48-51, who also tries to restore the original text.

In the course of Bay Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu's excavations along the south side of St. Irene, several fragmentary inscriptions have appeared. The longest, in four pieces, speaks of Emperors in the plural, and is perhaps of Leo III and Constantine V. Another, carefully incised, bears a series of abbreviated words. A report is soon due to appear.

V. *St. Andrew in Krisei*

The name Theophane appears on a column of the Turkish cloister. See Millingen, *Churches* 117, fig. 69.

VI. *The Monastery of Lips*

(1) An inscription runs along a marble string course on the apse of the north church. The letters are marked with drill holes, and were perhaps originally filled with lead. Published with a few mistakes by the Patriarch Constantius, *Κωνσταντινίας* (1844) 105, and by Paspatis *Μελέται* 323; also by Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 72, whose restitution is, however, doubtful, and more critically by Ebersolt, *Églises* 219; Millingen, *Churches* 132 and fig. 42 (facsimile). It is also discussed with respect to its date by J. Kollwitz in *Roemische Quartalschrift* 42 (1934) 244.

(2) The remains of an inscription in mosaic have appeared in the central church after the fire. They have not been published, and in their present state are quite illegible.

VII. *Budrum Camii*

Three fragmentary inscriptions were found

during the 1930 excavations, and are given by W. H. Buckler in *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 175-176, and pl. ix-x.

VIII. *Kilise Camii*

A broken epitaph from this church belonging to a monk is reproduced by Salzenberg, pl. xxv, fig. 12.

IX. *St. Savior Pantocrator*

An inscription of the emperor John Comnenus (presumably accompanying an image), and one of the empress Irene, in which she was styled "second foundress," both once in the narthex, have been published by Muratori, vol. I, p. CCLXVIII, 2; reprinted in *CIG* 8722.

X. *St. Mary Peribleptos*

This church was ceded to the Armenians in 1543 and burnt down in 1782.

(1) The images of Michael Palaeologus (1261-1282), his wife Theodora, and his son Constantine, accompanied by inscriptions, were to be seen in the refectory. Given by Muratori, vol. I, p. CCLXVIII, 1, and pictured by Du Cange, *Familiae byzantinae* (Paris 1680) 233. Reprinted, *CIG* 8754. A Latin version of an inscription reading: *Michael in Chro deo rex et imperator, [Ducas Angelus Comnenus et novus Constantinus]*, is given by W. Sahn, "Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau," 1, p. 176, in *Mitt. der Stadtbibliothek zu Koenigsberg* 4/5 (1912/1914).

(2) A representation of the founder, Romanus III Argyrus, was in the narthex of the church. Its inscription is given by Muratori, vol. I, p. CCXLVII, 8; *CIG* 8793.

(3) A fragmentary inscription also in the narthex published by Muratori, vol. I, p. CDXCV, 1; *CIG* 8850.

(4) An epigram once inscribed below "the statues" (τῶν στηλῶν) of the founders has been published by Mercati, "Iscrizione scomparsa della chiesa Περιβλεπτος di Constantinopoli," *Rend. Pont. Ac. Arch.* 3 (1925) 212-4.

XI. *St. Mary Pammacaristos*

(1) The inscription which runs outside the parecclesion on a marble string course is part of the epitaph of Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes put up by his wife Maria. An incomplete Latin translation appeared in the *Bibliotheca sive antiqui-*

tates urbis Constantinopolitanae (Argentorati 1578) num. 1. The Greek text was first published by Siderides in KEΦΣ, Suppl. to 20/21 (1892) pl. facing p. 28. See also Millingen, *Churches* 158 and fig. 49; Ebersolt, *Églises* 229-230, and fig. 113 (specimen of lettering). The full epitaph can be seen in *Carmina Philae* ed. Miller, vol. I, pp. 117-118.

(2) A series of monograms composed of tiles and recording the name of the founder, Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes, appeared on the south façade of the parecclesion after the church was restored in 1938. See *AA* 1939, col. 188-194; Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν* 2 (1905) 236.

(3) The twelve prophets on the parecclesion mosaic each hold a scroll with a text inscribed on it. The legends are given by Ebersolt, *Églises* 243-246.

(4) The portraits of Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes and his wife, with a commemorative inscription, were seen in the sixteenth century by Stephan Gerlach. Cf. Martin Crusius, *Turcograecia* (Basel 1584) 189; Siderides, *op. cit.* 20; Millingen, *Churches* 140; Ebersolt, *Églises* 228; Laurent in *EO* 38 (1939) 299.

(5) An inscription of the eunuchs John Comnenus and his wife Anna Delassena, which once appeared in the bema of the church, is given by Millingen, *Churches* 138-139 after a MS in the theological college at Halki which perished in 1894.

(6) Mosaic portraits of Andronicus III Palaeologus and his wife Anna with an accompanying legend were seen in the late sixteenth century by Hans Jacob Breuning (*Orientalische Reyss* [Strassburg 1612] 66). Cf. Crusius, *Turcograecia* 75; Millingen, *Churches*, 141.

(7) The tomb of Alexius Comnenus bearing an eagle with wings outspread and an inscription within an oval frame is pictured by Salomon Schweigger, *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nürnberg 1608) 119-120. Reproduced by Siderides, *op. cit.* 21-22.

XII. St. Savior in the Chora

(1) On the western façade of the church, under the minaret, the two monograms of Theodore Metochites have appeared again. See *AA*, 1940, col. 591-592. One of them was seen by the Patriarch Constantius, Κωνσταντινιάς (1824)

82, and is probably identical with the rather different monogram pictured by Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 455-456 as being outside the "church of Aetius."

(2) The epitaph of Tornikes in the side chapel was first published, with the exception of a few lines which were then covered over with plaster, by the Patriarch Constantius, Κωνσταντινιάς (1824) 84; reprinted by Byzantios, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, I 368. The complete text is given by Mordtmann in *Παρνασσός* 1 (1877) 648; Pulgher, p. 38, and Atlas (1880) pl. 26; Kondakov, *Tserkvi* 174-175; Millingen, *Churches* 330 (transcription and English translation) and pl. xcii. An excellent reproduction is to be found in A. Rüdell, *Die Kahriye-Dschamisi in Constantinopel* (Berlin 1908) pl. 13, and an equally good photograph in Th. Schmitt, "Kahriyé-Djami," *Izvestija russk. archeol. instituta v Konstantinopolje* 11, Album, (München 1906) pl. LXXXIII.

(3) The remains of an inscription belonging to the great Deisis mosaic are given by Millingen, *Churches* 296 n. 2. It is completed by Schmitt, *op. cit.* 38-39, who finds in it a mention of Isaac, son of Alexius Comnenus.

(4) An inscription scratched on a window post between the parecclesion and the narthex, and mentioning monks, but otherwise difficult to decipher, is pictured by Rüdell 18, fig. 33, and pl. 9.

(5) The name and title of Theodore Metochites from the mosaic in the inner narthex are given by Paspatis, *Μελέται* 330; Rüdell 10, fig. 9; Millingen, *Churches* 325.

(6) A great many sacred quotations and other legends are affixed to the mosaics to elucidate the subject of each composition. They have been enumerated by Schmitt, "Μοζαϊκὶ καὶ φρεσκι Καχριγιέ-Δζαμίου," *Izvest. russk. archeol. instituta* 8 (1903) 124-128, and can also be studied both in the text and in the album of vol. 11. The two mystical legends "The country of the living," and "The country of the Infinite" set beside the images of Christ and the Virgin Mary respectively have been published by Paspatis, *Μελέται* 330; Rüdell, 10, fig. 8, and p. 11, fig. 11; Millingen, *Churches* 289.

XIII. Odalar Camii

A capital bearing a cross and the letters CE, ΘΑ(Σέργιος, Βάκχος?) found near this

church, and two fragmentary epitaphs have been published by V. Laurent in *EO* 35 (1936) 224-226. For the painted inscriptions see Shazman in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 6 (1940) 384-385.

XIV. Martyrion of St. Euphemia

The inscriptions on the frescoes are edited by Schneider in *AA* 1941, col. 311-312, and figs. 23, 25, 27, and *BZ* 42 (1942) 181-183 (on p. 183 is the epitaph of a bishop of Chalcedon).

XV. Arslanhane (Church of St. John near the Hippodrome)

One line reading Κατὰ Σκυθῶν ἐπνευσας θερμόν ἐν μάχαις was seen in this church by Thomas Smith in 1673 (*Opuscula* [Rotterdam 1716] 121).

COLUMNS

I. The Column in the Seraglio Gardens

I am listing it here, although it is usually attributed to Claudius II, because some authors ascribe it to Constantine I, and others again to Theodosius I. The short inscription runs FORTVNAE REDVCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS, and is given correctly by Byzantios, I, 175, Déthier and Mordtmann, *Epigraphik* 72; *CIL* III 733; Mordtmann, *Esquisse* 50; Dessau 820; Fiebigler and Schmidt in *Denkschr. der Oesterr. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 60 (1917), no. 164. It is amusing to see how many times it has been misread. Grosvenor (*Constantinople* I 386) has FORTUNAE REDUCAE, Salzenberg (36) transposes OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS FORTUNAE REDUCI, while Dallaway, boldest of all, has THEODOSIO MAGNO OB GOTHOS DEVICTOS (*Constantinople Ancient and Modern* 21, note r).

On the other side of the column is the device IC XC NIKA between the arms of a cross. It was first given by Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England* (1747) 46, and reprinted in *CIG* 8926.

II. The Porphyry Column

The inscription of Manuel Comnenus running round the top of the column is to be found in *CIG* 8790 (after Spon, III 102), and has also been published by Dousa, *De itinere suo Constantinopolitano epistola* (Leyden 1599) 39; Muratori, I, p. CCLXVIII, no. 4; Dallaway 113, note c; Déthier in *KEΦΣ* 4 (1871) 28 and pl. III, 6. There

is considerable confusion about the word κενος in the second line.

III. The Column of Marcian

The column has been discovered by Wheeler and Spon, who were the first to publish it (*A Journey into Greece*, etc. [1682] 191; *Voyage d'Italie*, etc. [1678] I 225). In the second line they both read TER EIVS VOVIT (so also Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin* I 159). Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*, p. XII, no. 29, and Salzenberg 35 have TER VOVIT. Mommsen emended it to (Praef-)ECTVS VOVIT. See *CIL* III 738; Dessau 824; E. Gren in *Eranos* 44 (1946) 226. On the present state of the lettering see Ebersolt, *Étude sur la topographie et les monuments de Constantinople* (1909) 3, n. 2.

IV. The Egyptian Obelisk

The two epigrams in Latin and Greek on the base of this obelisk have passed through numberless editions. See esp. A. H. M. Jones in *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927*, pp. 43-44, and Gerda Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul 1935) 30-32, and figs. 33-34a. A bibliography of some of the older editions is given in *CIG* 8612 and *CIL* III 737 (Dessau 821). The Greek epigram is to be found besides in *Anthol. Palat.* 6.682 (Dübner, II, p. 140). The special study of A. J. B. Wace and R. Traquair, "The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius," *JHS* 29 (1909) 63 ff. should also be consulted.

In both inscriptions the name of the perfect Proclus has been erased and then re-engraved, which is supposed to refer to his *damnatio memoriae* enforced between 392 and 395. There is a textual difficulty: the Greek as it stands now reads ΠΡΟΚΛΑΟΣ ΕΠΕΚΕΚΛΑΕΤΟ. This being ungrammatical, it was long supposed that the original reading was Πρόκλῳ, which would have fitted the elegiac meter. But Jones points out that ἐπικαλέομαι should be followed by the accusative, in which case the inscription must have been unmetrical.

V. The "Colossus"

The inscription in six iambic lines is of Constantine VII, and refers to a restoration. It has

been published correctly by Dousa, *op. cit.* 39, Moinsen (CIL III, 1, p. 138), and more recently by Jones, *op. cit.* 44-45. The earliest transcription, that of Gyllius (*De topographia Constantinopoleos* [Lyon 1562] 88) errs with regard to word division, accentuation and line division, but it does give οὐ 'Ρωμανὸς παῖς (for οὐ 'Ρωμανὸς παῖς) which most of the later authors mistakenly emended to ὁ 'Ρωμανοῦ παῖς. So Th. Smith, *Constantinopoleos brevis notitia* in *Opuscula* [Rotterdam 1716] 98; Gruterus, p. CLXXXVI; Dallaway 69, note c; CIG 8703. Du Cange, lib. II, p. 105, and others, read correctly οὐ 'Ρωμανὸς παῖς but unfortunately transpose Κωνσταντῖνος ἰὺν δεσπότης for νῦν Κωνσταντῖνος δεσπότης.

VI. The Statue of Eudoxia

The base of Eudoxia's famous statue was discovered on the site of the Augustaion in 1848 when the foundations of the Ottoman University were being laid. The bilingual inscription was first published by O. Frick in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1857, pp. 89-90, and after him in CIG 8614, CIL III 736, and Dessau 822. See also Kaibel, *Epigr. graeca ex lapidibus collecta* no. 921; Bjeljaev in *Vizant. Vr.* 1 (1894) 778. An independent edition is that of the Patriarch Constantius, *Συγγραφαὶ αἱ Ἑλλάσσονες* 382, who, however, in the second line of the Latin gives the meaningless YG for VC (*vir clarissimus*), and PRAEFC for PRAEF. He is followed by Byzantios I 462, and Paspatis, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, transl. W. Metcalfe [London 1893] 103. Antoniadis, I 52 gives the Greek inscription only.

The base which once stood outside St. Irene has now been placed in the garden of St. Sophia.

VII. The Monument of Porphyrios

This monument, originally in the Hippodrome and now in the Museum of Antiquities (no. 2995) has been the subject of a considerable literature. On the inscriptions see esp. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* no. 935, Mordtmann in *Athen. Mitt.* 5 (1880) 295 ff.; Woodward and Bury in *BSA* 17 (1910/1911) 88-94, the appendix by Woodward and Wace to W. S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene*, 78 ff., and the recent study of Vasiliev in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948) 27-50.

TOMBSTONES FROM CONSTANTINOPLE AND PERA

Apart from several we have already mentioned in connection with the Walls and the Churches, many more scattered gravestones have been unearthed in the course of time.

(1) The tombstone of Firmina, daughter of Justin II, is said to have been found near the Land Walls, and a copy of it was made. See Déthier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople* (1867) 3 ff. See also O. Fiebiger in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 42 (Halle 1917) 331 sq.

(2) It is reported that the tomb of the emperor Maurice and his family, inscribed with elegiac verses, was extant in the sixteenth century. See *Bibliotheca sive antiquitates Constantinopolitanae* (1578) num. 1, where a Latin translation is given.

(3) Four tombstones found at Psamatia near the church of St. Menas are mentioned in KE4Σ 13 (1878/79) 170.

(4) Two slabs representing gladiators, found near the aqueduct of Valens, were hurriedly copied by Kondakov, *Tserkri* 223.

(5) Twelve gravestones have been published by Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον* (Constantinople 1899) 78-79, 101-102, 133, 209, and eight more by him in his *Ἑγγράφοι λίθοι καὶ κεράμια* (1893) 92 (also given by Leval in KE4Σ, *Εἰκοσιπενταετηρίς* 1888, p. 618), 93, 94, 95, 96, 127.

(6) Two tombstones and the lid of a sarcophagus have been published by Curtis and Aristarchis, nos. 83, 88, 104. They also give the epitaph of one Stachnas (?) found at Cihangir (Pera), and another one of Sabbatis from the Catholic church of St. Peter (nos. 87, 98). For the latter see also Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata* 42, who give a further epitaph of one Pantoleon (p. 50, fig. 1; cf. also Errata).

(7) A slab with a cross and the letters AMAC, as well as the tombstone of Polychronos from Halicioğlu (Pera side) have been edited by Kouppas in KE4Σ, Suppl. to 19 (1891) 38.

(8) Nine Christian gravestones found at Pera near the old Russian consulate have been published by Th. Wiegand, "Inscripfen aus der Levante," in *Athen. Mitt.* 33 (1908) 146-149.

(9) Some of the funerary inscriptions from the Russian Archaeological institute published by R. Leper in *Izvest. russk. Arch. Inst.* 9 (1904) 239, 244, 245, etc. without indication of prove-

nance, may be from Constantinople.

(10) Part of a sarcophagus with several inscriptions is given by Mendel, *Catalogue II* (1914) pp. 530-531 (Inv. no. 2755).

(11) Two tombstones from the Seraglio Point, of which one is in verse, are given by Unger in *AA* 1916, col. 24-26.

(12) The tombstone of Iordanes from the Greek church at Hasköy is published by K. Lehmann in *Athen. Mitt.* 42 (1917) 190.

(13) The sarcophagus from the Şahzade imaret dated A.D. 351, and bearing a metrical inscription in Latin, is studied by Ebersolt, *Mission* (1920) 45-49. In the same work he published ten more tombstones from the Museum of Antiquities (pp. 49-54, being nos. 3121, 3054, 2166, 2788, 3009, 3011, 3100, 701, 3047, 3078). No. 3100 is the epitaph of the foederatus Sephnas. See also p. 20 for a short inscription (+Θεοῦ κέλεις) inside a sarcophagus.

(14) The tombstone of Amachis found at Tophane (Museum no. 3896) has been published by Macridy and Ebersolt in *BCH* 46 (1922) 356-362 and fig. 1. They also give a broken inscription found at the same place (p. 362 and fig. 2). See further the special study of Millet in *Oriens Christianus* 1932, pp. 303-316.

(15) Two tombstones from Fındıklı found near the Cihangir mosque are given by Siderides in *KEΦΣ* 32 (1911) 132-133. The first belongs to a converted Jew named Judas who became a Christian priest; the other is without name.

(16) A gravestone from the Blachernae quarter is the subject of an article by E. Alexandrides in *Νέος Ποιμήν* 5 (1923) 30-34.

(17) A small fragment of an epitaph found near Aivan Saray Kapısı is given by Papadopoulos, *Blachernes* (1928) 157.

(18) The monument of a Palaiologina has been published and discussed by W. H. Buckler in *Mélanges Schlumberger* (1924) 521-526. It was found to the west of St. Sophia.

(19) The fifteenth century epitaph of Anna Doukaina Petroleiphina from Arab Camii (Museum no. 2928) is published by V. Laurent in *EO* 35 (1936) 220-222. He also gives the epitaph of one Leontios found on the hill above Phanar (*ibid.* 223-224).

(20) Two broken tombstones from the Mangana region (the latter in the Museum, no. 3950)

are to be found in Demangel and Mamboury *Le quartier des Manganes* 128, 154.

(21) Three more epitaphs are published by Schneider in *BZ* 36 (1936) 397-398.

(22) The epitaph of Prosporius found at Azapkapı in 1930 (Ayasofya Museum, no. 446, Museum of Antiquities, no. 4274) has been published by Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata* 41, and revised by L. Robert, *Hellenica II* (1946) 155-156.

(23) Funeral stele of the janitor George and his wife Euphrosyne, found during the recent excavations in the second Seraglio court (church of St. Menas?). Photograph given by Aziz Ogan in *Belleten* 4 (1940) pl. LXXVII, fig. 10, and text by Bittel and Schneider in *AA* 1943, col. 252 sq. They add a late Byzantine ostrakon from the same place.

The Ayasofya Museum possesses in addition the following Byzantine tombstones:

No. 155 (Museum of Antiquities, no. 4286): Tombstone of Kyrillos from Ayaspaşa.

No. 160 (Museum of Antiquities, no. 4287): Tombstone of Theophilos from Ayaspaşa.

No. 171 (Museum of Antiquities, no. 4148): Tombstone of Constantine found near Zencili Han.

In the Byzantine room of the Museum of Antiquities are the following two plaques which do not appear to have been published:

No. 4246: Tombstone of Eumorphia found near the mosque of Atik Ali Paşa (Edirne Kapı).

No. 2793: Tombstone from Ortaköy (Bosphorus).

There are many more tombstones in the store which I shall not attempt to enumerate here. One of the most interesting (no. 4368) is of the abbot of a monastery and is dated A.D. 1069. Another, of the spathar Arsavir, dated A.D. 903, is published by me in *Archaeology* 3 (1950) 140-141.

VARIOUS

(1) Inscription on a lead pipe found at the base of the Delphic Serpent, mentioning a patrician and prefect of the city. See O. Frick in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1856, 221; reprinted, *CIG* 8611.

(2) Once seen on a column imbedded in the wall of a private house: inscription of the Blue faction in honor of the emperor Constantine

III (?). See Muratori, II, p. DCXXII, 2, and IV, p. MCMXCV; *CIG* 8788.

(3) Fragment of an arch with the letters $\Theta\Phi\Lambda\epsilon\epsilon\Theta$ found at Bayazit and ascribed by Dethier to the monument of Theodosius II (*Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople* [1867] 14 and plate).

(4) Marble slab with the letters $\text{ΑΙΤΗ[} \tau\epsilon, \epsilon\text{]ΥΡΗ[} \sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ in the pavement of a street. Curtis, *Broken Bits* II, no. 53; Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 84.

(5) Pavement slab near the fountain of Ahmet III inscribed ΑΔΩΡ . Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 100.

(6) In a private house near Yeni Cami, a slab bearing the name Theodore. *Ibid.* no. 103.

(7) Graffiti on a granite base in Uzun Çarşı-başı street referring to a bath. *Ibid.* no. 141 and pl. I, no. 14.

(8) Marble base found in Üçler street near the Hippodrome with the name of the praepositus Antiochus. Sideropoulos in ΚΕΦΣ , Suppl. to 19 (1891) 24, no. 1.

(9) Marble column in Yerebatan Saray street bearing the name of the domestic John. *Ibid.* 25, no. 2.

(10) Invocation to the Virgin Mary from Urucilar Hamamı Sokağı. *Ibid.* 25-26, no. 3.

(11) Inscription from the Blachernae, perhaps a milestone. See Papadopoulos, *Blachernes* (1928) 157, no. 2.

(12) Capital found near the Seraglio Point with the legend: "Demetrius, overseer of orphanages." Paspatis, Μελέται 102; Curtis, *Broken Bits* I, no. 3.

(13) Marble slab found near İncili Köşk in 1871. It bore the words $\kappa[\alpha\iota] \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon$. Paspatis, Μελέται 106; Curtis, *Broken Bits*, I, no. 23.

(14) Site of the Great Palace: carved lintel with the words $\alpha\gamma\upsilon\text{[} \text{ΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΕ-ΥΦΗΜΟΥ}$. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (1921) 31 and pl. xxiv, 4; Mamboury and Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 50, no. 5, and fig. 29.

(15) Slab found to the east of St. Sophia with the name of a presbyter. Mamboury and Wiegand 50, no. 4, and fig. 28.

(16) Extremely fragmentary inscription from the Mangana quarter given by Curtis, *Broken Bits* I, no. 11.

(17-18) Two broken slabs from the Mangana region with lettering of the late Palaeologian period. Demangel and Mamboury 154, nos. 13 and 14.

(19) Inscription from the Cisterna Basilica referring to "embellishments" (?) given by Mamboury and Wiegand 65-66 and fig. 31 (9).

(20) Some fragmentary inscriptions of doubtful meaning are given by Unger in *AA* 1916, col. 23-24.

(21) A paving stone on the road leading from the Castle of the Seven Towers to Zeitin Burnu bearing the letters ΒΑCΙΑ . . . Curtis, *Broken Bits* I no. 53.

(22) A small fragment found near Kahriye Camii, and published by Leper in *Izvest. russk. Arch. Inst.* 9 (1904) 248, no. 14.

(23) Fragment of an archivolt from Yah Köşk with the words "the gift of . . ." Museum no. 2364. See Mendel, *Catalogue* III, pp. 533-4.

(24) Big marble cross in the Museum (no. 2685) with the formula Ι Χ ΝΗΚΑ (sic) and the name of the Archangel Michael. Mendel, *Catalogue* III, p. 534-5.

(25) Capital found at Bayazit, now in the Museum (no. 942). It bears an inscription invoking heavenly aid to the emperor Heraclius. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 102; Curtis, *Broken Bits* II 37; Mendel, *Catalogue* II, pp. 533-5.

(26-27) Two capitals with seraphim in the corners. The one bears the word +ΑΓΙΟC+ and the other +CΑΒΑΩ . Both have been found near Çatladı Kapı (Museum nos. 925, 926). See Mendel, *Catalogue* II, pp. 543-6; Mamboury and Wiegand 23, nos. 3 and 4, and pl. XLVII.

(28) Fourteenth century plaque found in the İshak Paşa quarter. It bears a dedicatory inscription of the monk Callistus (Museum no. 1598). See Mendel, *Catalogue* II, pp. 528-9; Mamboury and Wiegand, p. 53 and pl. CI, etc.

(29) Marble fragment, perhaps the frame of an icon (Museum no. 3118). Neat lettering; mentions Michael Palaeologus. Provenance unknown. See W. A. Buckler in *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 307.

(30) Two small fragments from the Imperial Palace have been published in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (1947) pl. 11, fig. 6. A more considerable fragment, which does not appear in this work, could be seen among the

various architectural débris on the site of the excavations. It read:

... OHΘEONIKEAO ...
... XITTAICTAMEN ...
... TITCOAITAICO ...

(31) On a column in the Augustaion Gyllius read the name of Constantine the Great accompanied by a cross and the words *ἐν τοῦτω νικᾷ* (*De topographia Constantinopolensis* 111).

In addition, the following inscriptions are to be seen in the garden of St. Sophia:

No. 224: Marble column. The fillet has the words *τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ*.

No. 186: Column bearing three abbreviated words in large Palaeologian characters.

No. 145: Very important base inscribed with several mutilated lines of Latin and Greek verse, mentioning the emperor Theodosius II. Found in 1930 near the Forum Tauri. See *AA* 1940, col. 590-592, and figs. 18-20.

The Museum of Antiquities possesses a great number of miscellaneous Byzantine inscriptions from Constantinople, which it would be impossible to describe here. The two most important are:

No. 4502: Huge inscription in 12 fragments found in 1932 near Çatladı Kapı. Too much is missing to extract a sense. About ninth century.

No. 4730: Bas-relief of the Virgin and Child found in 1939 in the Sokulu Mehmet Paşa mosque. Two sides of the frame are inscribed. Not unlike *CIG* 8706.

GALATA AND PERA (OTHER THAN TOMBSTONES)

(1) A long inscription dated 1371/2 and made out in the name of Neilos, Metropolitan of Larissa, was found at Tophane, and has been published by Th. Preger in *BZ* 8 (1899) 485-488. It calls down imprecations on anyone who will tamper with certain ecclesiastical property.

(2) Votive slab of the monk Paul found at Tophane, and representing a bishop (Museum

no. 904). See Mendel, *Catalogue* II, pp. 50-54. A similar relief dedicated by the monk Constantine is mentioned in *KEΦΣ* 3 (1865) 78, and 4 (1865/70) 188.

(3) Fragmentary inscription found in Sişliane square, giving part of a date. Curtis and Aristarchis, no. 21, and pl. 1, no. 9.

(4) Milestone from a house in Galata. *Ibid.*, no. 23.

(5) A marble slab from Hacıoğlu which belonged to a well is noticed by Kouppas, *KEΦΣ*, Suppl. to 19 (1891) 37. His transcription of it has unfortunately disappeared.

(6) Inscribed plaque from Arab Camii. See Ebersolt, *Mission*, 1920, 41 and pl. xxxvi, 2.

(7) Shield of the Palaeologi of Genoese origin, now in the Museum (no. 973). See Ebersolt in *Mélanges Schlumberger* 433.

THE HEBDOMON

(1) Column of Theodosius II. Its massive base, now in the garden of St. Sophia (Museum no. 3907), bears a mutilated inscription in Latin, and can best be studied in R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945) 35-38, and figs. 21, 23. Cf. Macridy, *Tô βυζαντινὸν Ἑβδομόν* (Athens 1938-9) 34-5, and fig. 8.

(2) Marble cross found in 1922 (Museum no. 3909). The inscription comprised the "trisagion" and the name of an emperor, now lost, but presumably that of Leo I. See Demangel, *op. cit.* 51-3, and figs. 36-38.

(3) Sarcophagus with a short inscription mentioning the name Epiphanius. See Macridy and Ebersolt in *BCH* 41 (1922) 377; Macridy, *op. cit.* 67 and fig. 28.

(4) A twelfth century plaque (Museum no. 2641) found at Haznedar Çiftliği, some 3 km. to the north of the Hebdomon. Perhaps a "collective" epitaph from a cemetery. See W. A. Buckler in *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 305 ff. and pl. v.

ST. ANDREWS

January 1950

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE ELEUSIS VASE

TOM B. JONES, University of Minnesota

IN *AJA* 53 (1949) 356-357 there appeared a note by Wm. T. M. Forbes entitled, "The Inscription on the Eleusis Vase." I should like to enumerate a few of the objections to his proposed reading:

1. It is a large assumption that Greek was the "normal language" of Eleusis in the thirteenth century B.C.

2. It is unlikely that, in a syllabary of the type envisioned by Forbes, the aspirated *e* in *Helike* would be confused with the vowel *e*. The Cypriotes for example, had separate characters for *a* and *ha*, and apparently for *e* and *he* also.

3. The first word in the Eleusis inscription is, as Forbes realized, a good Minoan word, amply attested and occurring in contexts where it could not mean "May she prosper."

4. The last word is not likely to be *tyche*. In the first place, there would be little point in abbreviating a two-syllable word. Secondly, a word which occurs at least twice on Theban vases may well have been the one-intended on the Eleusis vase, and this word would have to be read (by Forbes) *tu to*. Comparisons of the Eleusis text with certain Theban vase inscriptions illustrated below¹ seem to me to display a common sequence in which *tu to* occurs alone as a word or as an element in a word.²



As a postscript, one might note that *tu to*³ occurs

¹ The texts shown are based on G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Le iscrizioni preelleniche di Haghia Triada in Creta e della Grecia peninsulare," *Mon.Ant.* 40, 4 (1945), figs. 250-252. They may also be found in Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, 2 p. 740, fig. 724a and supplementary plate LXIX.

² Some may object that the tenth character in the fifth Theban inscription (Car. I) shown is not *to*. While its physical appearance is not that of the conventional *to*, its presence in the sequence inclines me to believe that *to* was intended.

³ I continue to transliterate this word according to Forbes'

at least twice on the tablet shown in Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, 2, p. 800, fig. 775, and once on another tablet (*ibid.* p. 724, fig. 707c). It is also interesting to see that the first word of line 2, fig. 775, is probably the same as the second word (characters 4-8) in the fifth Theban vase text (Car. I) shown above; moreover, the first word of line 6, fig. 775, appears to be a variant of this same word. Finally, the first word in line 5, fig. 775, also occurs on a vase from Tiryns (*Palace of Minos*, IV, 2, p. 742, fig. 725).

All these texts, therefore, represent the same language. If it were possible to read one of them, we could read them all.

January 1950

A LATE ANTIQUE IMPERIAL PORTRAIT RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT ISTANBUL

NEZIH FIRATLI, Istanbul Museum

SINCE 1944 important remains have been brought to light in the course of excavating for the foundations of the various new buildings of Istanbul University at Beyazit. These are mainly church-like constructions of the sixth century and remains of the necropolis of ancient Byzantium. The finds of the necropolis consist of a series of tomb-stelae, sarcophagi and pottery from the fourth century B.C. to the end of the third century A.D.²

The subject of the present article came to light in these circumstances in June 1949 (figs. 1-5). The spot where it was found falls outside the Forum Tauri, but very near its west wall. It is 100 m. more or less north of the Column of Theodosius. The head was

system merely for convenience, not from any belief that it is the correct transliteration.

¹ I wish to thank Miss Aşkidil Akarca, assistant at the University of Istanbul, who has taken the trouble to translate the present article from Turkish into English, and Professor Marion Lawrence of Columbia University who has kindly consented to revise it.

² For the excavations before 1946 see A. M. Schneider, *AA* 59/60 (1944/45) 75. A short notice appeared in *AJA* 51 (1947) 197 on the work in 1946. For the finds of 1946-1948 several notices appeared in the Turkish press. A short article on the tomb-stelae and sarcophagi is published by Bay Aziz Ogan, the director of the Istanbul Museum, in *Bulletin Officiel du Touring et Automobile Club de Turquie*, No. 79 (1948) 11-16. The Byzantine architectural finds are published in *CahArch* 4 (1950) as "Trois Églises Trouvées à Istanbul," by Nezih Firath.



FIG. 2

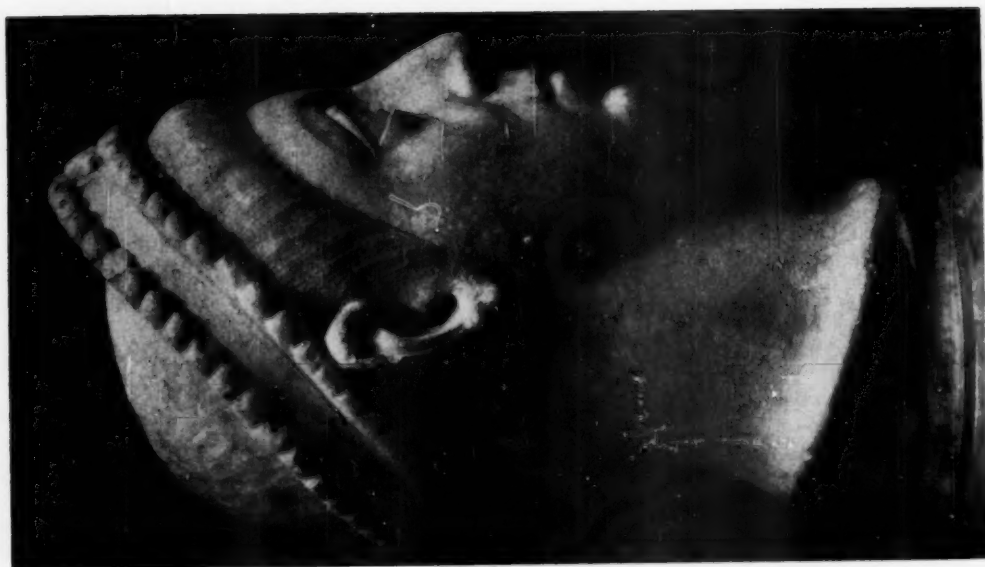


FIG. 1

FIG. 1



FIG. 4

A LATE IMPERIAL PORTRAIT DISCOVERED AT ISTANBUL



FIG. 3



FIG. 5

FIG. 2

found above sarcophagi and pottery of the third century A.D., which were placed directly on the virgin soil. This area was dug thoroughly, but no statue, base, or inscription connected with the head was found. Although some unimportant walls were revealed, there seems to be no reason to connect these with it. At present we are unable to explain why the head should have been found in this particular place, but the probability is that it belonged to the statues in the Forum Tauri.

The head is of Pentelic marble. It is 0.325 m. high and is well preserved (inv. No. 5028). Only a very small piece on the tip of the nose and one or two pearls of the crown are missing. The appearance of the marble beneath the neck shows that the head was made to be placed on a statue. It seems to belong to a youth about twenty years old. He wears a crown composed of two rows of pearls attached to the edges of a broad band. The crown is further adorned above the forehead with a rectangular precious stone surrounded by eight pearls. The pearls in front are well formed, while those at the back are treated summarily. The pearls on the upper row at the back are separated by small grooves, whereas the lower row forms an unbroken line. The headdress is that of emperors of the end of the fourth century A.D. The hair on the top of the head is but roughly shown, while that below the crown is neatly combed, covering the upper part of the forehead and falling on the temples and neck. The forehead is flat; the brows are not indicated. The eyes are very large and open, and the right eye is bigger than the left. They seem to be looking towards a high and distant object. The upper lids are represented by a line. The pupils are carved, but the iris is not shown. The nose is shapely, with a slight curve, and there is a small depression where it joins the forehead. The nostrils are well defined. The cheek bones are not prominent, the cheeks swelling slightly toward the nose. The skin seems smooth and fresh. The mouth is small and somewhat protruding, the lips being well defined. The chin is small and round. On the neck are two thin horizontal lines, and the depression at the junction of the neck and chest is represented. The ears are carefully carved.

At the time of the discovery of the head we considered the portrait to be that of Valentinian II, being influenced by the portrait of Valentinian already in the Istanbul Museum.² But although there are similarities at first glance, there are sufficient differences, on more careful examination, to lead to doubt. Since the head is the portrait of an emperor of the end of the fourth century and shows a young man of about twenty, our search really narrows down

to a choice between the Emperors Valentinian II (383-392), Arcadius (395-408), and Theodosius II (408-450), all of whom ascended the throne in their youth.

Two other youthful emperors of the period were Honorius (395-423) and Theodosius I. But although coin portraits show a likeness to Honorius⁴ we cannot consider him since he ruled in the West. The proximity of the excavation site to the Column of Theodosius I, which held a statue of that Emperor, and to the Forum, has to be considered. The Column, which was destroyed by earthquake in the year 480, was erected about 392.⁵ Theodosius I was born in the year 347, so that he must have been more than forty years old when the Column was erected, making the identification of our head with that of this statue extremely unlikely. Moreover, this statue is believed to have been bronze or silver.

The portrait head of Valentinian II in Istanbul⁶ resembles our head in the shape of the crown and the protruding chin, but the face is fleshy and the expression soft and serene; whereas, on our head, the face is thin, the expression hard, and the eyes large and dull. The hair of this portrait also differs from our head in that it is not smoothly combed but falls on the forehead in curls. The portrait of Valentinian on his coins⁷ is rather fat, and the profile of the nose, contrary to ours, is concave. The representation of him on the missorium of Theodosius I⁸ is too badly damaged to allow of a comparison. The bronze bust of him at Budapest⁹ has an altogether different expression largely due to the difference in the material and size. The eyebrows of this bust are harsh and curve upwards, and the hair at the back of the head is different too. Thus we find in none of these portraits a satisfactory comparison with our head.

The portrait of Theodosius II in the Louvre¹⁰ is dated 440. It shows a lean, bearded man, with large, open eyes, about forty years old, and so might portray our young emperor toward the end of his life. On the other hand, the portraits of Theodosius on his coins¹¹ do not support such a supposition.

Among the members of the imperial House represented on the northwest and southwest sides of the

⁴ R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (Berlin 1933) p. 96, pl. 19.

⁵ Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit* (Berlin 1941) 3 sq.

⁶ *Kaiserporträts*, pl. 92; Kollwitz, *op. cit.* pl. 34; Mendel, *op. cit.* II, no. 96.

⁷ *Kaiserporträts*, p. 91, pl. 14.

⁸ R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin 1929) p. 235, no. 62; *Kaiserporträts*, p. 200, pl. 94-97.

⁹ *Kaiserporträts*, p. 198, pl. 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 17 sq., pl. 114-115.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 94, pl. 17.

² G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines* (1912-14) II, pp. 199-202, no. 506.

Hippodrome Obelisk,¹² (Theodosius I, Valentinian II, Arcadius and Honorius) our portrait is most similar to the thin-faced, thirteen-year-old Arcadius. We must point out that the description by Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccl.* 11.3) of the eyes of Arcadius as "sleepy and drooping" is contradictory to the large, open eyes of our head. But in the representation of Arcadius on the missorium of Theodosius I, the shape of the eyes shows a great resemblance, as do the slightly parted lips and the arrangement of the hair on the forehead. The Berlin head,¹³ which is dated 400,

differs from ours in the arrangement of the front hair, the shape of the crown, and the indication of the iris in the eyes; but the uplifted eyes and the shape of the mouth are identical. The coin portraits¹⁴ too, of Arcadius, show a definite likeness. Thus the strongest evidence points to the identification of our portrait as that of Arcadius and places the date somewhere between the years 395 and 400.

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¹² Kollwitz *op. cit.* 115-119; Gerda Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seinen Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul 1935) p. 36 sq., fig. 37-39 and 61-62.

¹³ *Kaiserporträts*, pp. 204-206, pl. 103-104; H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des Spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo 1933), no. 96, pl. 185-186.

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H. R. P. and V. P. Dickson, "Thaj and other Sites," *Iraq* 10 (1948) 1-8. Visited in 1942. Inscriptions and building remains.

Bruce Howe, "Two Groups of Rock Engravings from the Hijáz," *JNES* 9, No. 1 (1950) 8-17. Figures of men and animals, to be dated to late pre-Christian Era.

G. Lankester Harding, "Unique Statues of the Iron Age Discovered at Amman," *ILN* 5783 (18 Feb. 1950) 266 f. Phoenician inscription, legible but not interpreted. Perhaps of ninth century.

E. Will, "Une statuette d'Aphrodite, de Restan," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 1098-1103. Type of the Vénus de Fréjus, from Syria.

P. Merlat, "Nouvelles images de Saint Syméon le Jeune," *ib.* 720-731. In Antioch museum.

Barbara Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11 (1949) 1-43. Catalogue of the majority of seals excavated in Palestine or acquired by the Jerusalem Museum. Twenty-seven plates.

E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Cylinder Seals from Brak," *ib.* 59-76. Comments on Mallowan's publication.

D. B. Harden, "Tomb-Groups of Glass of Roman Date from Syria and Palestine," *ib.* 151-159. From Tyre and Galilee, probably fourth century of Roman Empire.

D. Mackay, "The Jewellery of Palmyra and its Significance," *ib.* 160-187.

J. Bottéro, "Les inventaires de Qatna," *R.Assyri* 43 (1949) 137-215. Three inventories of jewelry, the longest being that of the Treasury of Ninegal, Lady of Qatna. Probably fifteenth century B.C.

Louis Jalabert, René Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, III, 1 (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Vol. XLVI. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1950). Pp. 385-527. Region west of the Amanus, Rhosos and Antioch.

J. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*. Fasc. X, *L'Agora* (Publications de la Direction Générale des Antiquités de Syrie, Damascus 1949). Pp. 95, pls. 8. 145 texts in Greek and Palmyrene, indices of names and technical terms.

Enno Littmann, "Jesus in a pre-Islamic Arabic Inscription," *The Muslim World* 40 (1950) 16-18.

Third century Christian magic circle in a text found by G. Lankester Harding.

R. D. Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," *Iraq* 10 (1948) 122-137. Original publication of seventh-century stele found in 1939 north of Aleppo. Foundation of city Kamanas by king Kamanas of Carchemish.

Leo Mildenberg, "The Eleazar Coins of the Bar Kochba Rebellion," *Historica Judaica* 11, No. 1 (April 1949) 77-108.

N. Van der Vliet, "Monnaies inédites ou très rares du Médaillier de Sainte Anne de Jérusalem," *RB*, 57 (1950) 110-129. Julia Domma to Philip.

EGYPT

Professor A. Adriani, the editor of the *Annuaire* of the Musée Gréco-Romain in Alexandria, announces that the periodical will soon resume publication, and invites exchanges with interested publications.

Walter Federn, "Egyptian Bibliography (Jan. 1, 1939-Dec. 31, 1947)," *Orientalia* 19 (1940) 175-186. Jean Simon, "Bibliographie copte. 2 (1949)," *ib.* 187-201.

W. Peremans, E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I. *L'Administration Civile et Financière* (*Studia Hellenistica*, Universitas Catholica Lovanensis. 6. Louvain, 1950). Pp. xxvi+164. 1824 entries, from the officials of the court to the Praktors and the Antigraphis.

Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (University of Michigan Press, Humanistic Series, Vol. XLIX, 1950). Pp. xxii, 334, pls. 25.

Arpag Mekhitarian, "La porte des deux Nectanébo à Karnak," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (July 1949) 235-239.

Pierre Montet, Alexandre Lézine, "Un nouveau temple d'Horus à Tanis," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 752-763. Nectanebo II.

R. Pettazzoni, "Kronos-Chronos in Egitto," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 245-256. Kronos-Anubis and Kronos-Petbe.

G. Kuény, "Scènes apicoles dans l'ancienne Égypte," *JNES* 9, No. 2 (1950) 84-93.

H. Frankfort, "A Persian Goldsmith's Trial Piece," *JNES* 9, No. 2 (1950) 111-f. Limestone plaque from Egypt with three animal friezes of Achaemenid date.

Pierre Gilbert, "La joueuse de luth en bronze découpé du Musée du Cinquantenaire, et le décor métallique dans l'architecture égyptienne," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (July 1949) 223-234. End of Eighteenth Dynasty.

Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, "Deux vases égyptiens représentant une femme tenant un enfant sur ses genoux," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2

(1949) 905-916. Second half of Eighteenth Dynasty, containers of medicines.

P. M. Fraser, C. H. Roberts, "A New Letter of Apollonius," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (1949) 289-294. Naval constructions in January of 250 B.C. Possible bearing on war with Macedon.

Alwin Würstle, *Untersuchungen zu P. Cair. Zen. III 59355. Ein Beitrag zum ptolemäischen Recht* (Diss. Erlangen 1950, Unpublished).

John Barns, "Three Fayûm Papyri," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (July 1949) 295-305. Letter concerning police of early second century B.C. Legionary affidavit of citizenship, A.D. 92. Petition concerning privileges of a cripple, late second century.

Erik Peterson, "Einige Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrus-Fragment der Acta Pauli," *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 142-162.

Togo Mina, "Le papyrus gnostique du Musée Copte," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 2 (1948) 129-136. One codex out of two known from a find in Upper Egypt, acquired in 1946. J. Doresse, "Trois livres gnostiques inédits: Évangile des Égyptiens, Épître d'Eugnoste, Sagesse de Jésus Christ," *ib.* 136-160. Partial contents of the codex.

Jean Doresse, Togo Mina, "Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte. La bibliothèque de Chenoboskion," *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 129-141.

E. S. G. Robinson, "The Tell el-Mashkuta Hoard of Athenian Tetradrachms," *NC* 7 (1947) 115-121. Originally perhaps 6,000 coins, of fifth century B.C.

Tony Reekmans, "Economic and Social Repercussions of the Ptolemaic Copper Inflation," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (July 1949) 324-342.

J. G. Milne, "Report on the Coins found at Antinoë in 1914," *NC* 7 (1947) 108-114. Miscellaneous.

IRAQ, IRAN

O. Neugebauer, "The Alleged Babylonian Discovery of the Precession of the Equinoxes," *JAOs* 70 (1950) 1-8.

Seton Lloyd, "Jausaq al-Khaqani at Samarra: A New Reconstruction," *Iraq* 10 (1948) 73-80. Herzfeld's plan (from Creswell) and four views of the model in the Iraq Museum. Mesopotamian architecture under the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

C. J. Gadd, "Two Assyrian Observations," *ib.* 19-25. (1) A relief in the Iraq Museum belongs with the Berlin relief of Ashur-bani-pal, and concerns the Elamite campaign. (2) The "River-man" of the Broken Obelisk may have been a muraena.

J. P. G. Finch, "The Winged Bulls at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh," *ib.* 9-18. Excavations in 1941 show that Layard and Cooper nodded.

Arthur Upham Pope, "A Group of Outstanding Sasanian Silver," *ILN* 5782 (11 Feb. 1950) 20 f. From the Loan Exhibition at the Asia Institute in New York.

C. J. Gadd, "The Fan of Ba-Ba," *Iraq* 10 (1948) 93-100. Winning fan identified on Boundary-Stone of Nebuchadrezzar.

E. Douglas Van Buren, "Fish-offerings in Ancient Mesopotamia," *ib.* 101-121. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence; perhaps life symbols.

H. Moore, "Reproductions of an Ancient Babylonian Glaze," *ib.* 26-33.

M. E. L. Mallowan, "A Copper Rein-ring from Southern Iraq," *ib.* 51-55. Of II/III Early Dynastic, with figure of onager.

Maurice Lambert, R. Tournay, "Enki et Ninkhursag. À propos d'un ouvrage récent," *R.Assyr* 43 (1949) 105-136. Comments on Sumerian text first published by Kramer.

F. R. Kraus, "Ein altakkadisches Festungsbild," *Iraq* 10 (1948) 81-92. Description of hill fortress Armânum quoted in Babylonian text U. 7756.

O. R. Gurney, "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu," *Iraq* 11 (1949) 131-149. Fifteen miscellaneous texts of Kassite Period from 'Aqar Qûf in the Iraq Museum. To be followed by publication of remainder of this material.

Walther Hinz, "The Elamite Version of the Record of Darius' Palace at Susa," *JNES* 9, No. 1 (1950) 1-7. Revised text, translation, and commentary.

Christoph Clairmont, "Ein Edikt Antiochos' III," *Museum Helveticum* 5 (1948) 218-226. Text from Tehran (cf. *AJA* 54 [1950] 227).

A. G. Roos, "Remarques sur un édit d'Antiochos III roi de Syrie," *Mnemosyne* 3 (1950) 54-63. Suggested emendation of the Tehran inscription, and observations on Ptolemy of Telmessus.

E. S. G. Robinson, "A 'Silversmith's Hoard' from Mesopotamia," *Iraq* 12 (1950) 44-51. Jug handle in form of a bull, other silver fragments, and silver coins, mainly Greek and Phoenician, constituting the stock of a silversmith early in the fourth century.

INDIA

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Volume XV for the Years 1940-1947, Published with the Aid of the Government of Indonesia, the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon (Kern Institute, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1950). Pp. lxxii+221, pls. 8. 2580 entries covering the war-years.

R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, "Newly Found at Mohenjo-Daro: A Huge 4000-year-old Granary," *ILN* 5796 (20 May 1950), 782 f.; "New Light on the Indus Civilisation: The Mohenjo-Daro Granary," *ib.* 5797

(May 1950) 813-816; "Man in 4000-year-old Malenjo-Daro: Grotesque and Savage Human Figures, Animals in . . . Meticulous and Loving Representations," *ib.* 5798 (3 June 1950) 854 f.

Theodore Burton Brown, "The Dating of the Hissar III Period and its Importance for Indian Archaeology," *AAA* 28 (1948) 27-31. Supports McCown's early dating, and Mackay's contemporary dating of the Jhukar period.

R. B. Whitehead, "Notes on the Indo-Greeks," *NC* 7 (1947) 28-51.

Daniel Schlumberger, "The Ghaznavid Palace of Lashkari-Bazar: A Newly-Explored and Unique Centre of the Power which Extended Islam into India Nine Hundred Years Ago," *ILN* 5788 (25 March 1950) 458-463.

ITALY

J. S. P. Bradford, "The Apulia Expedition: An Interim Report," *Antiquity* 94 (June 1950) 84-95. Based on an air survey. Finds of thick settlement from prehistoric to Mediaeval times.

Frederik Poulsen, *Römische Kulturbilde* (Munksgaard, Copenhagen). Pls. 129.

Marcel Durry, "Le christianisme dans les cohortes prétorienne," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 85-90. Little evidence for it.

Amedeo Maiuri, "Di un singolare emblema sacro in una bottega pompeiana," *ib.* 185-192. Meteoric stone baetyl, and female bust with elephant scalp (Africa? Aegyptus?).

Bartolomeo Mogara, "Un Mitreo nell'area del Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica," *ib.* 229-244. Discovered in 1938. Inscriptions, tauroctone relief, statues.

Giuseppe Lugli, "I tempî dei Lari e dei Penati sulla Vetia," *Mél. de Phil., de Litt. et d'Hist. Anc. J. Marouzeau* (1948) 401-408.

Charles Picard, "L'entrée de la salle absidale à l'Attideion d'Ostie," *RHIL* 135 (1949) 129-142. The two ithyphallic statues of Pan are part of the association of that deity with the Great Mother. This has a bearing on the ithyphallic *propylaioi* at Samothrace and other *propylaioi*.

C. C. Van Essen, "Quelques coupes romaines," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 1047-1059.

K. Schefold, "Vom Sinn der römischen Wandmalereien," *ib.* 936-945.

Gustave Lefebvre, "Sur l'obélisque du Latran," *ib.* 586-593. The 'unique obelisk' of Thothmes III.

David M. Robinson, "A new fifth Roman copy of the Orpheus relief," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 303-311.

H. P. L'Orange, "Pausania," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.*

Charles Picard 2 (1949) 668-681. Several Roman copies of a fifth century portrait of Pausanias.

Doro Levi, "Il cuoiaio Sardo di Gonone," *ib.* 644-658. Bronze figurine of sixth-fourth century B.C.

Marcel Renard, "La louve d'Apulum," *ib.* 858-862. Wolf nursing twins as symbol of eternity.

Alan J. B. Wace, "Notes on Roman Sculpture," *ib.* 1088-1097. Some portrait busts of imperial date in Rome.

Gisela M. A. Richter, "Glyptic Portraits of the late Republic and early Empire in the Metropolitan Museum," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 295-302. "Roman portraiture evidently stemmed from that of Hellenistic Greece." Gem portraits of prominent Romans.

André Piganiol, "Note sur un bas-relief de la Villa Médicis," *ib.* 265-270. Trajan and Plotina.

Antonio Minto, "Di alcuni bassorilievi tardo-romani del Museo Archeologico di Firenze," *ib.* 205-215. Mithras tauroctone, seasons, days of the week, Aphrodite Gubernatrix.

Joel Le Gall, "Un 'modèle réduit' de navire marchand romain," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 607-617. Column base in the Terme Museum shows fixed rudder.

Salvatore Calderone, Santi Luigi Agnello, "Fondo di skyphos con dedica ad Herakles," *Epigraphica* 10 (1948) 143-145. About 470 B.C., of palaeographical interest.

Renato Bartoccini, "Frammento di legge romana rinvenuto a Taranto," *Epigraphica* 9 (1947) 3-31. Considerations of military service, perhaps of 111 B.C.

Martin P. Nilsson, "A propos du tombeau de Vincentius," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 764-769. Materialism and Sabazius.

W. Seston, "L'épithaphe d'Entychos et l'héroïsation par la pureté," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 313-322. Greek and Latin inscription discovered in 1935 in the Villa of Domitian on the Alban Mount, and published in 1943. Below scene of apotheosis.

William C. McDermott, "C. I. L. IX, 3660-3663," *Mél. de Phil., de Litt. et de Hist. Anc. J. Marouzeau* (1948) 421-426. Dated to first two months of Gaius' reign.

André Piganiol, "Note sur un fragment d'inscription arvalique," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 822-824. Read *Neptuno for Vertu(m)no* in text of A.D. 176. published by Mancini.

A. Ferrua, "Tavole lusorie scritte," *Epigraphica* 10 (1948) 21-58. Latin texts from Italy.

Lucia Donaduzzi Marcon, "Le iscrizioni del Museo Moscardo di Verona," *Epigraphica* 9 (1947) 90-108.

Antonia Lussana, "Alcune osservazioni sulle pietre miliari della Transpadana, della Venezia e della Liguria," *ib.* 68-80.

Jules Toutain, "Réflexions sur une monnaie ro-

maine," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 331-338. Faustina the Younger, with Venus on reverse.

NORTH AFRICA

Jean Baradez, *Fossatum Africae*. Recherches aériennes sur l'organisation des confins sahariens à l'époque romaine, with Preface by Jean Leschi. (Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Direction de l'Intérieur et des Beaux-Arts. Service des Antiquités-Missions Archéologiques. Paris, Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949). Pp. x+377, maps 2, numerous illustrations in text.

Raymond Thouvenot, "Buste-applique trouvé à Volubilis," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 1000-1007. Fertility goddess; bronze.

Gilbert-Ch. Picard, "Dionysos victorieux sur une mosaïque d'Acholla," *ib.* 810-821. Cf. *AJA* 54 (1950) 131 f.

A. Merlin, L. Poinssot, "Factions du cirque et saisons sur des mosaïques de Tunisie," *ib.* 732-745.

R. Feuarent, "Réflexions relatives au silphion," *RN* 10 (1947-1948) 27-31. Coin representations.

Adrien Blanchet, "Une hypothèse sur un monnayage Carthaginois (Bomilear, 308 av. J.-C.)?" *RN* 9 (1946) 7-13.

Jean Mazard, "Une monnaie de Juba II," *RN* 10 (1947-1948) 33-38.

SPAIN

Helmantica, Revista de Humanidades Clásicas de la Pontificia Universidad Eclesiástica y de la Agrupación Humanística Española, I, 1 (Salamanca, 1950) is welcome as a new journal in the classical field, but contains little of archaeological interest. Mons. Antonio Griera, "La cultura romana del Pirineo reflejada en el léxico" (pp. 74-84) contains topographical material.

Juan Llabrés, Carmen Massaguer, "Bibliografía Mallorquina, Años de 1947 y 1948", *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueología Luliana* (Palma de Mallorca), 30 (1948) 316-344.

Emeterio Cuadrado Diaz, *Excavaciones en el Santuario Iberico del Cigarralejo* (Mula, Murcia) (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Comisaria General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, *Informes y Memorias*, No. 21. Madrid, 1950). Pp. 239, pls. 87. Iberian settlement in SE Spain, with buildings, sanctuary, and pottery, sculpture, ex votos.

C. H. V. Sutherland, "The Gold and Silver Coinage of Spain under Augustus," *NC* 5 (1945) 58-78.

FRANCE

Fernand Benoit, "Chronique Archéologique de Provence," *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence* 23 (1948-1949) 3-28.

Fernand Benoit, "La légende d'Héraclès et la colonisation grecque dans le delta du Rhône," *Let. tres d'Humanité* 8 (1949) 104-148.

Marcel Renard, "Alesia," *Phoebos* 2 (1947-1948) 23-47. Well illustrated review of the excavations.

O. and J. Taffanel, "L'oppidum du Cayla, Commune de Mailhad (Aude)," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 996-999. Stratigraphy and pottery.

Michel Labrousse, "Un sanctuaire rupestre gallo-romain dans les Pyrénées," *ib.* 481-521. In an abandoned quarry called "Malh de las Figuras" near Saint-Béat. Human figures traced on the rock, and altars to Silvanus and Erriapus.

F. Benoit, "Les chapelles triconques paléochrétiennes de la Trinité de Lerins et de la Gayole," *Riv. di Arch. Christiana* 25, Nos. 1-4, pp. 3-28.

Raymond Lantier, "Coutumes funéraires dans le cimetière wisigothique d'Estagel," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 177-182.

Ed. Salin, "Les traces d'industrie et de peuplement saxon ou anglo-saxon en Gaule mérovingienne," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 917-925.

Marcel Renard, "Des sculptures celtiques aux sculptures médiévales. Fauves androphages," *Collection Latomus* 2 (1949) 277-293. Motif of Celtic art.

Raymond Lantier, "Une nouvelle statuette de bronze polychrome découverte en Gaule," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* 2 (1949) 554-560. Hermes, of Italian Imperial work.

Fernand Benoit, "L'Autel de la Place de Lenche à Marseille. Contribution à l'étude du symbolisme Gallo-Romain et des légendes iconographiques de la Provence," *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence* 21 (1945-1946) 59-75.

Émile Mâle, "Les mosaïques de la Daurade à Toulouse," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard*, 2 (1949) 682-687. Described by Benedictine in seventeenth century, dating from mid-sixth century.

Felix Oswald, "The Work of the Trajanic Potter G. Iulius Vibinus or Vibius of Lezoux," *AJA* 28 (1948) 55-61.

P. Le Gentilhomme, "La trouvaille de Nanterre," *RN* 9 (1946) 15-114. Denarii and Antoniniani from Albinus to Gallienus.

SWITZERLAND

G. Wüthrich, "Celtic Numismatics in Switzerland," *NC* 5 (1945) 1-33.

NORTHERN EUROPE

V. Luho, "Über steinzeitliche Winterverkehrsmittel in Finnland," *AJA* 19 (1948) 114-144. Four types of sled runners from preceramic to post-Kammkeramik

times, the first three probably drawn by dogs, the last by reindeer.

A. A. Freundt, "Komsa-Fosna-Sandarna. Problems of the Scandinavian Mesolithicum," *ib.* 1-68. The Komsa (Finmark) and Fosna (Western Norway) cultures are contemporary, with similarities with the Ertebølle culture in Denmark. Sandarna (Sweden) represents a separate culture related to Danish Carstenminde.

H. C. Broholm, "The Midskov Find," *ib.* 189-204. Seven gold vessels of the Bronze Age.

C. J. Becker, "Die zeitliche Stellung des Hjortspring-Fundes innerhalb der vorrömischen Eisenzeit in Dänemark," *ib.* 145-187. Ceramic aspects of Moberg's three periods, of which I and II are rather long, III rather short. The Hjortspring Find, consisting of a planked long boat with weapons (wooden shields, iron and bone swords and spearpoints) may be dated to Period II, i.e. to the third century B.C., the Krogsbølle Find to the second. Weapons of German rather than Celtic type.

Olfert Voss, Mogens Orsnes-Christensen, "Der Dollerupfund: Ein Doppelgrab aus der römischen Eisenzeit," *ib.* 209-217. "Die Fibeln, die Sporen, die übrigen Kleinigkeiten und die Keramik," *ib.* 217-231; "Die Trinkhörner," *ib.* 231-243, by Orsnes-Christensen. "Die Gefässe aus Bronze und Silber," *ib.* 243-271, by Voss.

B. H. Stolte, "De Fossa Corbulonis," *TrG* 60 (1947) 243 f. Supplement to his account, *ib.* 56 (1943) 216-223.

ENGLAND AND EIRE

Mr. H. W. Edwards (The Wharf, Newbury, Berkshire) announces plans for a volume of studies in honor of O. G. S. Crawford, *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond*, with a distinguished list of contributors.

F. G. Simpson, Miss K. S. Hodgson, "The Coastal Mile-Fortlet at Cardunock," with contributions by I. A. Richmond, Eric Birley, Robert Hogg, and John Charlton, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, N.S., 47 (1948) Buildings, iron, pottery.

Eric Birley has had the kindness to send me copies of a series of important studies on various problems of Roman archaeology in Britain. They are "Britain under the Flavians: Agricola and his Predecessors," *Durham Univ. Journal* 38, No. 3 (June 1946) 79-84; "Roman Law and Roman Britain," *ib.* 39, No. 2 (March 1947) 58-63; "Britain after Agricola, and the End of the Ninth Legion," *ib.* 40, No. 3 (June, 1948) 78-83; "The Roman Site at Burrow in Lonsdale," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* n.s. 46 (1947)

126-156; "Old Penrith and its Problems," *ib.* 47 (1948) 166-182; "The Roman Fort at Low Borrow Bridge," *ib.* 1-19; "Roman Inscriptions from Chesters (Cilurnum), a Note on *Ala II Asturum* and Two Milestones," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., 16 (1939) Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne) 237-259; "Mortarium Stamps from Corbridge (with J. P. Gillam), *ib.* 26 (1948), 172-201; "The Status of Roman Chester," *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, N.S., 36, No. 2 (1948) 3-7; "Dumfriesshire in Roman Times," *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 25 (1948) 132-160.

Haakon Shetelig, "The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements," *AA* 19 (1948) 69-113. Finds in the British Isles.

Seán P. Ó. Riordáin, *Lough Gur Excavations: Carraig Aille and the "Spectacles"* (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. LII, Sect. C, No. 3, Dublin, 1949) 39-111, plans and plates 17. Buildings and numerous finds, especially from Carraig Aille II, a fort occupied from the eighth to the tenth century.

GERMANY

Wilhelm Albert v. Brunn, "Probleme thüringischer Burgwälle," *Germania* 27, No. 3/4 (1943; actually 1949) 113-146. Comments on Martin Claus, *Die thüringische Kultur der älteren Eisenzeit* (1942).

Paul Reinecke, "Jungbronzezeitliche Keramik aus Grabhügeln von Grünwald bei München," *ib.* 19-112. Excavations of 1812.

Ernst Sprockhoff, "Die Ausgrabung der Hünenburg bei Emsbüren, Kr. Lingen," *ib.* 168-183. Ring fortification containing building remains, time of Henry I.

Wilhelm Reusch, "Metz als Herstellungsort belgischer Keramik," *ib.* 146-156.

Peter Goessler, "Neue Steine aus dem Kastell Mainhardt (Württ.) (Veteranen-Weihsteine)," *ib.* 157-168. Three dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by the *Cohors I Asturum*.

DANUBIAN COUNTRIES

Erich Swoboda, *Carnuntum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien 1949). Pp. 69, pls. 16.

Franz Miltner, *Das zweite Amphitheater von Carnuntum* 5th ed. (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien, 1949). Pp. 24.

Rudolf Egger, "Der Ulrichsberg. Ein heiliger Berg Kärntens," *Carinthia I* 140 (1949) 1-51. Sanctuary of Noreia Isis converted into a church, A.D. 100-500.

Camillo Praschniker, "Die Versuchsggrabung 1948

auf dem Magdalensberg," *Carinthia I* 139 (1949) 1-32. Buildings, pottery, and other finds from prehistoric periods to Roman times.

Scarlat Lambrino, "Le *Vicus Quintionis* et le *Vicus Secundini* de la Scythie Mineure," *Mél. de Phil., de Litt. et d'Hist. Anc. J. Marouzeau* (1948) 321-346. As illuminated in the inscriptions of Histria.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS

THE NEAR EAST

ANN PERKINS, *Editor*

EGYPT

M. Jean Leclant of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire has kindly provided the Editor with a full set of notes on the past year's work in Egypt, from which the following statement is compiled.

At Aswan Labib Habachi Effendi, inspector-in-chief of the Service des Antiquités, excavated in the chapel of Heqa-ib on the island of Elephantine, and in the tomb of the same official on the river bank across from Aswan. At Tôd, F. Bisson de la Roque and P. Barguet cleared the peripteral temple of Thutmose III, which has been identified as a station-temple of Montu, Lord of Tôd. They also excavated a kiosk of late times (Roman?) on the edge of the sacred lake; the kiosk was anepigraphic unfortunately. It had four columns on the lake façade and four on the eastern side, where the entrance was situated. At Luxor, Zakaria Ghoneim Effendi, chief inspector of the Service des Antiquités, found the beginning of the avenue of sphinxes leading from Luxor to Karnak, bordered by brick walls. The well-cut sphinxes bore the name of Nectanebo (Nekht-neb-f). A sandstone stela of the same king mentions his works at the gate of the enclosure which delimits the forecourt of the great pylon of Luxor. The mudbrick enclosure wall was excavated, and the forecourt cleared.

H. Chevrier, director of works of the Service des Antiquités, has been working in the Great Temple of Karnak.¹ In working in the southern ramp of the Second Pylon, thousands of sandstone blocks with reliefs of Amenhotep IV were extracted. P. Lacau and Chevrier cleared the region east of the Festival Hall of Thutmose III in order to clarify the plan of the building; the axial sanctuary and the rooms around the "Jardin Botanique" were also studied. Clearance works were undertaken in the small temple of Thutmose III which abuts on the eastern enclosure wall of the Great Temple, and of the Hatshepsut obelisks which preceded it. Evidence was collected by Barguet on a large base in the main axis of Karnak, which could have served as socle for the "unique obelisk" of St. John Lateran, recently studied by G. Lefebvre. The northeast sector of the great enclosure of Amon was cleared in order to make a way of access to Naga Foqani, the site of the great sun temple of Amenhotep

IV, where Chevrier expects to work next season. Work was also carried on at the so-called edifice of Taharqa in the northwest corner of the sacred lake, constructed of re-used blocks with the name of Shabaka, and later usurped by Psammetichus II.² The colossi of the Tenth Pylon were cleared by A. Varille.

In North Karnak, Charles Robichon and Jean Leclant of the Institut Français worked at the Temple of Montu, clearing the platform which stands in front of the temple. This platform consists of six courses of stone, all constructed by the careful fitting together of re-used blocks of XXV Dynasty date. Some come from a chapel bearing the names of the divine worshippers, Amenardis and Chepenoupet, some relating to the Sed-festival of the divine wife, Chepenoupet. Other blocks belong to the intercolumniations of a colonnade of Taharqa, bearing on one side a succession of names and on the other side ritual scenes; the uraei and cartouches have been generally hammered out (Figs. 1, 2).

B. Bruyère excavated for the Commission Française des Fouilles at Deir el Medineh, clearing a large well, 12 m. in diameter and 50 m. in depth, north of the Ptolemaic temple. A stairway cut into the limestone allows descent part way down the shaft, but the steps cease abruptly. In the course of the clearance the excavator met a stratum several meters thick containing some 6000 hieratic ostraca, as well as various other objects and documents. In the Theban necropolis of Assasif, Zakaria Ghoneim Effendi worked in the tomb of Montouemhet, the celebrated vizier of Thebes during the Ethiopian period. He cleared a large court with ten chapels opening from it, some of them with inscriptions and reliefs; stairways lead down to subterranean chambers not yet investigated. Various restorations in the tombs of nobles of the Theban necropolis were directed by A. Stoppelaëre; notable work has been done in the tombs of Rekhmire, Khaemhet, Nakht, Pa-iry, and Neferrenpet.

At Dendera, the copying of scenes and texts initiated by Chassinat was continued by M. F. Daumas of the Institut Français; another volume of this great publication is now ready. Clearance works were undertaken in the Mammisis in order to make the plans more precise. At Abydos, Dr. Abul Naga, architect of the Service des Antiquités, supervised construction work at the base of the Temple of Seti I to prevent settling and slipping of the soil. A. M. Blackman and M.

¹ Cf. J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 19, No. 3 (1950) 363-367 for details.

² Cf. J. Leclant, *BIAOr* 49 (1950) 181-192.



FIG. 1. KARNAK, TEMPLE OF MONTU. FRAGMENT OF RELIEF, SHOWING SED-FESTIVAL.

Apted worked for the Egypt Exploration Fund at Meir. Clearance and copying were accomplished in the Old Kingdom tombs of Ni-ankh-Pepi and Pepi-ankh, and in the tomb of Ukh-hotep III, nomarch of Cusae and high priest of Hathor. At Tunah el Gebel, Professor Sami Gabra of the Fouad I University of Cairo explored a subterranean necropolis of monkeys and ibis, studying the mummies of these sacred animals of Thoth, and cleared funerary monuments of Hellenistic and Roman times near the tomb of Petosiris. Professor Abu Bakr of the Farouk I University of Alexandria worked at both Ashmunein (Hermopolis) and at Giza.

J.-P. Lauer, architect of the Service des Antiquités, continued work on the anastylosis of the girdle wall of Zoser at Sakkara, concentrating on the restoration of the gateway near the southeast corner. In the west sector of the enclosure an important fragment of a stele with the name of Ishetji, and a lintel and stele with the name of Sebekemkhent were discovered. In

the funerary temple of Userkaf, Lauer was able to determine the principal axis and the alignment of the east façade. Dr. Abul Naga, working near the convent of St. Jeremias, cleared constructions of the Coptic period several meters above the level of the road of Unas. The Coptic buildings utilized numerous older blocks, of which several have the name of Pahemmeter, high priest of Ptah, and one a fine figure of this dignitary.

At Ezbet el Walda, the expedition of Zaki Youssef Saad made important discoveries of the archaic period. F. Debono was delegated by the Service des Antiquités to work in the cemetery brought to light in the construction work on the racetrack of Heliopolis. Bodies were laid on the right side, contracted, the head at the south end and the face turned toward the east. The dead were covered with mats and animal skins, and were accompanied by handmade, burnished, and colored pottery. There were also the skeletons of dogs and a variety of Capridae, possibly gazelles. The



FIG. 2. KARNAK, TEMPLE OF MONTU. FRAGMENT OF RELIEF FROM COLONNADE OF TAHARQA.

latter were buried like the human beings, with the same position, same orientation, and same gifts of pottery.

Alad el Hadi Hamada, curator of the Musée Egyptien, excavated two mounds at El Qatta on the west edge of the Delta. The first was part of an Old Kingdom cemetery with tombs of various types. The majority of the dead were buried in wooden sarcophagi, whose interior was crudely covered with a layer of painted plaster, of which there remained only a few scraps. Rich funerary gifts were found here, including a fine scribe's palette of schist and a limestone headrest. The second mound, further north, contained a series of Roman tombs scattered in the midst of older graves. The bodies were often contained in two jars placed mouth to mouth. At Tell Atrib in April, 1950, a fellah accidentally discovered a sarcophagus of white quartzite, which was designated by an inscription as that of Takhout, wife of Psammetichus II; the queen's body was decomposed. A rich funerary material was recovered. Several blocks with Ptolemaic reliefs in a fine and vigorous style were found in 1949 at Behbet el Hagar.

Père P. Montet and A. Lézine worked at the site of Tanis. East of the great temple they found a drain ("masoura") some 300 m. long. It was made of truncated pieces of pottery some 0.80 m. long and 0.50–0.80 m. in diameter, which were fitted together and the joints coated with clay. This drain led to a well situated between the Temple of Horus and the eastern gateway, measuring 2 m. on a side and having a depth of 6 m. All along the drain are deposits of pottery. The most important deposit contains many tall (ca. 1 m. high) jars of red ware, some cylindrical, others bulging at the base, generally with two handles near the neck and a bulge below the mouth. These jars were systematically pierced at the base. Nearer the well similarly pierced jars were ranged in two parallel rows about a meter apart. Re-used stones in the wall around the sacred lake at the northeast corner of the enclosure of Psusennes were excavated. Blocks found included those of Shepses-[ka]-Rê, Neferkarê Pepi II, Ramses II, Ramses III (fragments of a limestone stele), Psosennes, Petubastis, Sheshonk IV, and Psammetichus I. In the enclosure of Anta, the southeast and southwest foundation deposits of Ptolemy IV were discovered. (Those of the northeast and northwest corners had been found by M. Montet in 1932.) They consisted of plaques of gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, pottery, and various kinds of stone, along with little models of tools, *menat*, vases, and cups.

Dr. Henry Field reports that in 1949 A. J. Arkell dug a Neolithic site at Shoheinab about 20 miles north of Androman, belonging to what he calls the "gouge culture." This dig was an attempt to throw further light on the Neolithic cultures of the Khar-

toum area, first described by Arkell in his book *Early Khartoum*. P. L. Shinnie dug at the XIXth Dynasty town of Amara West, the excavation being a joint undertaking of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Sudan Antiquities Service; this was a continuation of the work done in 1938/39 and 1947/48 by H. W. Fairman. Work was carried on in the town, completing the excavation of the palace of the Egyptian governor and various ordinary domestic buildings, and also in a large mound outside the town, which revealed part of the public garden system and two small temples. One temple contained a series of pots carefully closed with mud stoppers, containing the skeletons of snakes (pythons?), evidence of a previously unsuspected snake-cult.

ISRAEL

Dr. S. Yeivin, Director General of Antiquities of Israel, reports on the current work of his department. In the past year several major excavations were undertaken, mostly of sites where building activities were due to start in the near future.

At Sheikh Bader west of Jerusalem, excavation was sponsored by several institutions and carried out under the direction of Mr. M. Avi-Yonah. The remains revealed evidence of a Jewish quarry (and settlement?) from the last days of the Second Temple, followed by two phases of occupation by a detachment of the *Legio X Fretensis*, the Roman garrison of Jerusalem. During the first occupation the site served as a brickyard, during the second as a dwelling-place. Finally, the nearby area was occupied by a sixth century basilica and monastery dedicated to St. George; the mosaic pavements are partly preserved, including a fragmentary Greek dedicatory inscription.

On the western outskirts of Jerusalem, dominating the ancient Roman road, a much ruined fortified building was discovered at Ras el-'Alawi. Mrs. Ruth Amiran carried out the excavation on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. Remains of two buildings were uncovered. The earlier, dating to the third century of the Christian era, was built of dressed stones and contained a cistern; this probably had been a fort guarding the approaches to Jerusalem. The later building, of the Byzantine or early Arab periods, was much inferior in quality, but of larger size than the earlier. It contained seven rooms, some of them exhibiting springings of arched supports for ceilings. One room contained a columbarium built of stone slabs; its niches were full of earth, but no objects were found therein (Fig. 3).

During the months from February to June, 1950, the excavation of the mound of Beth Yerah (Khirbet Kerak) was carried out by the Department of Antiquities, under the direction of Mr. P. L. O. Guy, assisted by Mr. P. Bar-Adon. Just north of the exca-



FIG. 3. RAS EL-'ALAWI. COLUMBARIUM FROM BYZANTINE BUILDING.

vation of Stekelis and Avi-Yonah in 1945/46,³ a further area was cleared, in which the main find was a walled quadrangle (perhaps a temenos) some 60 m. square, with a square tower at each corner and a doorway in the north wall. The south wall, which had been partly cleared in 1945/46, had a gateway flanked by two towers similar to the corner towers. The founda-

³ Cf. *Bull. Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc.* 13, Nos. 1/2 (1946/47).



FIG. 4. BETH YERAH (KHIRBET KERAK). EARLY BRONZE POT-STAND AND PLATTER.

tions frequently cut through Hellenistic walls, which have been found at many points within the square; these produced a quantity of Hellenistic pottery, with a number of vessels in good state. The Hellenistic buildings everywhere closely overlie the Early Bronze Age strata (Fig. 4 shows a typical Early Bronze pot-stand and platter found here), but within the quadrangle itself the latter have been left alone for the present.

The quadrangle appears to have been built in Roman times, and to have been in use also during the Byzantine period. The main building within it was unfortunately destroyed to floor level almost everywhere. Two periods are evident, one Classical and the other Byzantine, the older foundations being generally used in the later building. In its first phase this large building may have been a temple or a civil basilica, and remains of a peristyle have been found on the NNW and ENE sides, with a single column base visible in each of these sides. Its real nature, however, cannot be stated with certainty, for the remains of the first phase are still for the most part covered by those of the later phase. In the second phase the peristyle foundation was reused, probably with masonry pillars

replacing the older monolithic columns; and on the foundations of the building within it was erected a structure with a central nave, having an apse at the SSE end, and two side aisles (Fig. 5). Only two short sections of the walls of this structure, standing one course high, are preserved near the apse; but elsewhere the lines of the walls are traceable by means of the mortar and the foundations, as well as by the limits of the floors, which still exist in many places. Fragments of colored mosaic at numerous points show that this floor covering must have been used throughout the building, but unfortunately only two fragments are large enough to give any idea of the patterns used, and these patterns are all incomplete: several birds, a pair of lions facing each other, a man apparently holding a horse (only the feet of the man and the hooves of the horse remaining), and various plants, among them a simplified tree bearing two undoubted etrog fruits. The general appearance of the mosaics, as well as some of these motifs, suggest that the building was Jewish; and this is supported by the discovery on the column base in the NNW peristyle of a roughly engraved menorah, with lulav, etrog, and makhta. The fact that the apse is in

the south also speaks for this theory; on the other hand, its size is much greater than that of a normal Synagogue. The building extends toward the west, and no definite pronouncement can be made as to its use until excavation is complete.

In the Romemah quarter of Jerusalem, a Jewish

masin Quarter in Jabotinski Street. The pottery found is mostly Ghassulian-type, including a gourd shaped churn (?) (Fig. 7), and fragments of horn-shaped goblets ("cornets"). The tomb also yielded a basalt bowl 0.50 m. in diameter, with incised chevron decoration, and a polished stone axe. Traces of another



FIG. 5. BETH YERAH (KHIRBET KERAK). GENERAL VIEW OF APSIDAL BUILDING.

burial cave dating to the period of the Second Temple came to light. The cave contained ossuaries, one of them inscribed in Greek with the name ΙΟΥΔΟΥ. The clearance of the so-called "Tombs of the Judges" was begun by the Department of Antiquities, with the assistance of other groups interested in preserving and restoring the ancient monuments of Jerusalem. The "Tomb of the Columns" was cleared, and retaining walls were built around its open courtyard to prevent landslides from covering it again (Fig. 6). For the first time a thorough investigation was carried out in the largest of these tombs, which shows the most ornate façade; it has a rather intricate plan, since it contains some 60 burial places, arranged not only in two stories, but also in two tiers in the upper (ground) floor. The clearance of the courtyard in front of the tomb revealed the existence of benches running alongside its walls and remains of later walls and doorways. Mr. J. Rothschild supervised the work for the Department of Antiquities.

Investigations largely financed by the Municipality of Tel-Aviv were carried out in and around the northern outskirts of that city by Mr. J. Kaplan on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. These have resulted in several interesting discoveries. A Chalcolithic settlement and tomb were excavated in the former Jam-

Chalcolithic settlement were discovered near the slaughterhouse. The clearance of a small tell, which had been previously overlooked and largely built over by modern houses, revealed a stratum of Early Bronze date, whose finds include a terracotta figurine of a naked goddess (Fig. 8). Pockets of Neolithic remains were found outside the area of Early Bronze material; Fig. 9 shows Neolithic artifacts.

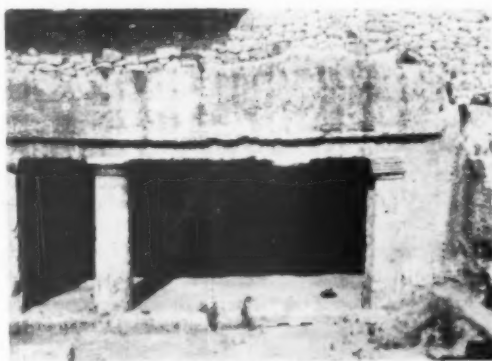


FIG. 6. JERUSALEM. "TOMB OF THE COLUMNS" WITH RETAINING WALL ABOVE.

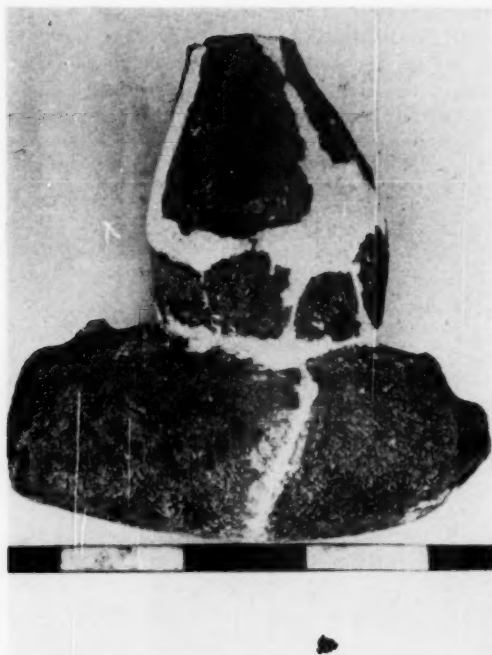


FIG. 7. TEL-AVIV. CHURN (?) OF
EARLY BRONZE DATE.

Several tombs belonging to the Hyksos period were excavated near the present Tel-Aviv harbor. They yielded a fair amount of the jars, bowls, and juglets typical of the period; other objects included several scarabs, two gold earrings, a silver anklet, and a bronze spearhead. Tombs of Hyksos date were also found in the vicinity of the municipal slaughterhouse. On the seashore south of the harbor, and also some 1500 m. east of the shore, were found the rubble foundations of towers, both of which may be dated to the Hellenistic period by the ordinary pottery and the Rhodian jar-handles found in them. The eastern tower seems to have been polygonal in shape; its northern preserved wall measures eight meters in length. The western tower contained two rooms, measuring 5.5×4.3 m. and 4.3×2.8 m. respectively. Since the towers are markedly similar in character, it is not unlikely that they once formed part of a line of fortifications running in an east-west direction and defending the northern approaches to Jaffa. North of the Yarkon River, building activities led to the discovery of three cave-tombs containing ossuaries made of soft limestone. Such ossuaries, dating to the first century B.C. or to the first post-Christian century, are common in the vicinity of Jerusalem, but they seem to be recorded here for the first time in the coastal plain.

The building of a new railway line between Tel-

Aviv and Haifa led to two archaeological discoveries. At Haderah, several tombs belonging to the Israelite period were cleared. Near Kfar-Vitkin, a row of stone slabs, probably the remains of a paved Roman road, was found in situ. Both clearances were made by Mr. J. Ory of the Department of Antiquities. Mr. Ory further excavated two tombs which had come to light in the village of el-Makr, northeast of Acre. One of them, dating to the Byzantine period, contained several clay sarcophagi and some glass vessels (Fig. 10). The other tomb was of Roman age, and the finds included a number of coins of the third and fourth centuries.

Dr. I. Ben-Dor and Dr. P. Kahane of the Department of Antiquities undertook an excavation at Arsuf (Apollonia), in the area lying northeast of the city wall of the Crusader period. Practically no remains of houses were unearthed, but a number of well preserved wine-presses of the late Roman or Byzantine period



FIG. 8. TEL-AVIV. POTTERY FIGURINE
OF EARLY BRONZE DATE.

came to light, together with remains of several glass-makers' workshops of early Arab times (Fig. 11). Apparently this was the industrial suburb of the ancient town.

A mosaic floor some 40 m. in length was partly cleared within the town of Beisan; it consists of simple geometric patterns in black and white. The floor belongs to a Byzantine building, remains of whose walls showed in several places; judging by its dimensions, this seems to have been a public building. Work was supervised by Mr. N. Zori, a member of the "Friends of Antiquities." Northeast of Beisan was found a polychrome mosaic depicting a hunter and a man chasing a pelican, with a border containing pictures of fish and a crocodile. The mosaic has been lifted, and after adequate treatment will be transferred to the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem.

At Safed, a public garden within the precincts of the ancient citadel is being planned. Before the execution of this project, the Department of Antiquities instituted a trial excavation in the southern part of the area under the supervision of Mr. M. Dothan. He unearthed remains of a polygonal wall, consisting of several courses of dressed stones with engaged pilasters at the corners (Fig. 12). This seems to have been part of the outer wall of a Crusader fortress. The investigation is to be continued.

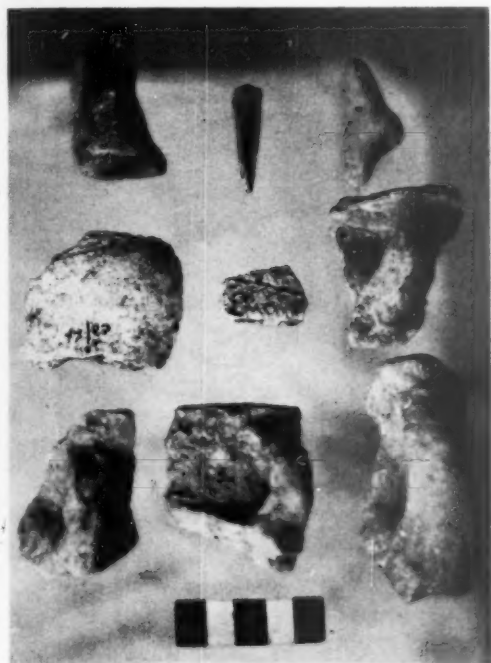


FIG. 9. TEL-AVIV. FRAGMENTS OF NEOLITHIC DATE.

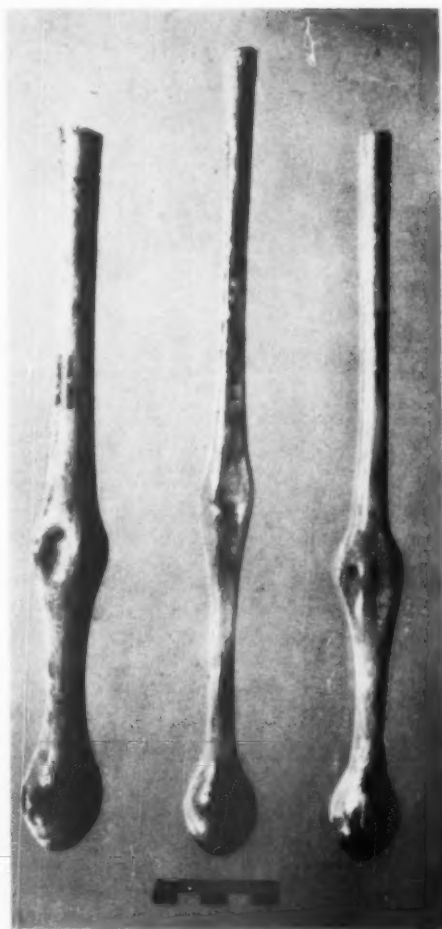


FIG. 10. EL-MAKR. BYZANTINE GLASS VESSELS.

The building of a suburb northwest of Benyamina led to the discovery of a massive stone wall of the Roman-Byzantine period, whose clearance was undertaken by the Department of Antiquities under the supervision of Mrs. A. Hamburger of the "Friends of Antiquities." It has been ascertained that the wall runs for some 300 m. in an east-west direction; on the top stone platforms, one course high, are equally spaced. The excavation must be continued at both ends of the wall, and only then will it be possible definitely to elucidate its purpose. At the present stage it seems likely that it served as a support of another aqueduct to Caesarea.

During building operations at the foot of the tell of Affuleh, ancient pottery was unearthed, and the Department of Antiquities undertook an investigation under the direction of Dr. I. Ben-Dor, assisted by

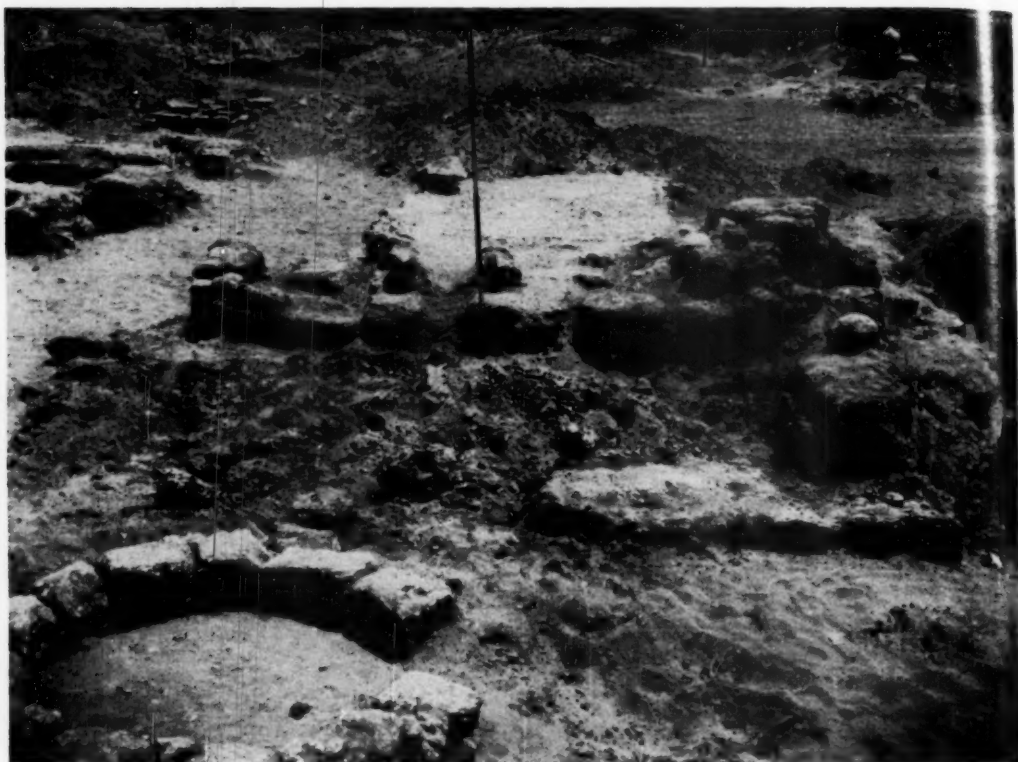


FIG. 11. ARSUF. ARABIC GLASS-FACTORY.

Mr. Y. Shapiro. Remains of a potter's workshop of the Middle Bronze Age were discovered; it contained fragments of unbaked Hyksos ware, proving that these vessels were locally made. The excavation also produced Philistine pottery, and remains belonging to the Israelite period, including a complete cooking-pot found in situ. On behalf of the Department of Antiquities, Dr. M. Stekelis undertook an excavation of the prehistoric remains at Sha'ar hag-Golan, south-east of Lake Tiberias. The most interesting result was the discovery of a workshop of Neolithic flints, since it makes possible a study of the techniques of implement-making. A great number of flint cores and flakes were found, as well as finished implements and some pottery. At a lower level were found implements of the Paleolithic Age.

Mention should be made of three excavations now in progress which promise very interesting results. M. René Neuville and M. Jean Perrot are investigating a Stone Age station at 'Abû-Ghosh, near Jerusalem, on behalf of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine of Paris. Professor E. L. Sukenik has just completed work on behalf of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University, at Yafa south-

FIG. 12. SAFED. CRUSADER
FORTRESS WALL.

west of Nazareth, where remains of an ancient synagogue were discovered. Dr. B. Maisler is engaged on his third campaign of excavation at el-Khirbe (Tell Qasile) on the Yarkon River, on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and the Tel-Aviv Museum. This season's work promises to clarify several problems of stratification, especially in the Israelite and Persian periods.

Besides the excavations and clearances described, some accidental discoveries deserve special mention. At Bir el-Hafir in the Negev, some 23 km. southeast of el-Auja, a stone was found showing crude drawings of animals. The style of the drawings is reminiscent of rock engravings from the Hijaz,⁴ tentatively dated to "the long time period extending from the local post-Chalcolithic times (a rather vague limit at best) into the Thamud-and-Safa period near the beginning of the Christian Era." In a mining shaft in the Wadi Munei'ye in the Negev, four lines of a Greek inscription were discovered, accompanied by a crude drawing of an eagle. At Benei-Beraq, northeast of Tel-Aviv, a Cufic inscription came to light.

All these discoveries could not have been made without the active help of the "Friends of Antiquities" who are in constant touch with the Department. Their number is now around 70, and their co-operation helps to cope with the ever-increasing demands of work caused by the building and development activities throughout the country. The active interest which the general public shows in the remains of the past may also be gathered from the increasing number of local and regional museums and collections, run by volunteers and devoted chiefly to the study of local areas. On the occasion of its first anniversary the Department of Antiquities arranged an exhibition of antiquities at Tel-Aviv, showing the kind of activities in which it had been engaged, by means of diagrams, maps, photographs, and small displays of actual finds from the various excavations. The exhibition was transferred to Jerusalem, where it was visited by nearly 5,000 people in three weeks.

For the general public interested in archaeological work, and for the "Friends of Antiquities" in particular, the Department is publishing a Hebrew Bulletin, of which the first two numbers have so far appeared. The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society is continuing the issue of its bulletin in Hebrew, with an English resumé; volume 15, nos. 3/4, has recently left the press. The Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University issued in December, 1949, the first number of an English bulletin devoted to the exploration of ancient synagogues.

Père R. de Vaux reports on the current work of the École Biblique et Archéologique. In Bethany a

grotto was excavated, which is entered by a stairway two meters wide. The entrance is rectangular and divided in two parts by a pillar. The chamber, approximately oval, measures 5.40×4.00 m. and is about 2.40 m. high. The exterior stairway is continued on the interior by four steps cut into the rock and occupying the whole width of the grotto. The entire surface of the cave is carefully covered with plaster, on which chrisms are painted in red, and numerous inscriptions are engraved. The latter are ordinarily short, consisting of a proper name (Asiatius, Zenon, Philodespotos, Florus, Paulus, Petros, etc.) or of a short invocation, such as the following:

KE O ΘΕ Ο ΕΓΙΡΑΕ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΝ Ε[α]
ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ CΟΥ
ΑΕΚΑΝΤΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΧΙΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ [σο]Υ.
ΘΕΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ
ΑΝΑΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΡΤ[ωλ]ΟΝ ΚΕ ΕΞΑΦΕC
ΑΥΤΩ ΤΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC [ἀμ]ΗΝ.

The oldest date to the fourth or fifth centuries. All are in Greek, except one Latin name and an almost illegible inscription in Syriac. It is difficult to say what was their purpose. This cave is certainly not a tomb. It seems evident that it was first a cistern, and it is perhaps significant that a ninth century pilgrim, Bernard le Moine, claims to have seen at Bethany the cistern where Jesus commanded Lazarus to wash himself after his resurrection.

Excavations have been resumed at Tell el-Far'ah, and it has been confirmed that the city was destroyed at the end of Iron I, with only a light partial occupation during Iron II and apparently nothing later. An Arab cemetery (possibly fourteenth or fifteenth century) at the summit has badly destroyed the Iron Age levels just beneath it, and probably even the Late Bronze levels. The rampart has been followed for about 60 m.; it seems to have been built in the Middle Bronze Age, repaired in the Late Bronze Age, then destroyed and replaced by an Israelite rampart.

LEBANON

The Archaeological Section of the University Museum, the American University of Beirut, has been engaged in revision of the catalogue under the direction of Mrs. Dorothy Mackay. Illustrations and references to published material are being added to the cards, in addition to the more precise datings made possible by the scientific excavations of recent years. The exhibits in the Museum are being re-arranged and labeled as the cataloguing work proceeds.

The following statement of work in Lebanon is extracted from the *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 8 (1949) with the permission of the Emir M. Chéhab.

Work was continued in the region of the "Aeneolithic necropolis" at Byblos, and two especially

⁴ Cf. Bruce Howe, *JNES* 9, pp. 8 ff.

interesting tombs were found. No. 631 contained the skeleton of an infant wearing a silver diadem, and carnelian and silver beads about the neck. With the body was a mace mounted in silver, and a silver tube which must have been around the handle of the mace. No. 630 contained much jewelry: another silver diadem, large silver beads and beads of disc and cylinder shape in carnelian, as well as some gold beads, which are a unique find in graves of this period. In the "Birket" work was carried on to the bottom, and walls of Phoenician date were found under the Greco-Roman walls. A road leading down to the bottom showed several renewals, indicating the high antiquity of the "Birket." Clearing along the ramparts was also continued. Near the surface was found an almost intact Roman level, and nearby a road 5-6 m. in length, made of irregular pebbles.

M. Simson excavated for the Lebanese government in Tyre in 1947/48. A double colonnade with white marble columns 0.95 m. in diameter was cleared for over 120 m.; the rows were 11.80 m. apart, and between them were mosaics with a uniform geometric design. Above the mosaics a marble paving had been set along the colonnade. Other pieces of mosaic with varied designs extended the length of the colonnade on its northwest side. To the north of the colonnade was a stepped rectangular monument, 45.40×34.30 m., apparently destined for some sort of spectacles; around and slightly below the base of the monument were irregular rooms in single or double rows. The rectangular space had sand layers at two different levels, and apparently in Byzantine and Arab times glass-workers or workers in horn had been installed here, to judge from the numerous fragments of these materials. Various finds of sculpture came from the northeast part of the excavation. A figure wears a cuirass decorated with sculptures representing Rome above the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus, and crowned by Victories. There is a beautiful head of Septimius Severus and various fragments of armed figures. Inscriptions include a dedication to Odenath and one mentioning Tyche; an inscription on an altar found in a nearby sounding recalls an inscription by an agoronomos on an altar in honor of Herakles Agios, and suggests that this is not far from the Temple of Melkart.

At Baalbek, work was continued on constructions earlier than the great temple, based some five meters below the paving of the altar-court. Several different stages of construction were noted. The oldest was in a chalky-white stone with a polished surface, quite different from the stone of later stages. In the second stage limestone blocks of fairly sizable dimensions were used, laid edgewise in a way apparently dear to the Hellenistic builders and already known from Saida, Samaria, and Kharayeb. The last two stages

were in very large blocks. Excavation was begun in the great court of the blocks which provided foundations for the Byzantine church. Blocks were systematically cleared, and some were put back in place on the so-called sacrificial altar; three sides have now been restored. The excavators found portions of two great socles in the court, apparently designed to hold the granite monolithic columns which were on either side of the central monument; the socle of the south column bore a Greek inscription. Excavations within the actual village of Baalbek, directed by M. Lian, resulted in the finding of a Roman villa of the fourth century, erected by a Neo-Platonist pupil of Eudorus. Three important mosaics were found here. The first represents the birth of Alexander, issuing from a vase, surrounded by his mother Olympias, a nymph, a servant, and three other personages. The second represents Calliope surrounded by Socrates and seven sages; the busts of the latter are accompanied by their names and by a favorite philosophical maxim. This mosaic is signed by the artist, AMITEION EHOIEI. A third tableau, partially preserved, represents Iŋ reclining, receiving a sheaf of grain from the hands of Eros.

At El Kharayeb, M. Sahab cleared a group of Hellenistic constructions. In a favissa northeast of these constructions, he found a group of terracotta figurines of varied subjects: divinities (Mercury, Harpocrates) children with a goose, students, dancers, musicians, satyrs, etc., accompanied by coins of the first two Christian centuries.

Restoration work was accomplished in the great temple at Fagra, various pieces in the temple of Niha, and in the pronaos of the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek.

TURKEY

Professor Helmuth Th. Bossert, of the Institute for Research in Ancient Oriental Civilizations of the University of Istanbul, tells us of a scientific survey undertaken by himself and his assistants. They first spent three weeks examining the ancient harbor of Magarsos, south of Adana, which showed important Roman remains at the surface. Preliminary investigations yielded much new Greek inscriptional material, found both in the mound and built into the houses of the nearby modern villages. Most noteworthy is a long Hellenistic cult inscription referring to Athene Magarsa. Apparently Magarsos was an important Cilician seaport since the beginning of the first millennium B.C.; finds already made include a Late Hittite or Phoenician lead statuette head, a Cypriote limestone head from the early fifth century B.C., a fine Ptolemaic portrait in black obsidian, and much pottery of the first millennium B.C. and the early-Christian era. Two nearby tumuli, one very large, are



FIG. 13. KANESH, LEVEL I B, GENERAL VIEW.

believed to contain the tombs of the warring kings, Mopsos and Amphilochos. The expedition also made a new copy of the already published hieroglyphic Hittite inscription of Bolkarmaden in the Taurus Mountains, and copies of other hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions in the museum and from the surroundings of Kayseri. Then followed excavations at Karatepe and at Domuztepe, the hill opposite. At Karatepe the castle wall and the fortifications were examined, and the buildings east and west of the south gate of the castle partly excavated. The work has not been completed, but will be continued in the autumn of 1950. Also the piecing together of the numerous reliefs and other fragments was commenced. On Domuztepe extensive trial excavations were undertaken, which brought to light Hittite relief fragments, as well as fragments of hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions and other finds. A well illustrated preliminary report on the result of the first three campaigns has been published by the Turkish Historical Society of Ankara under the title *Karatepe Kazıları (Birinci Ön-rapor): Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe (Erster Vorbericht)*.

Professor Tahsin Özgüç reports that the excavations

by the Turkish Historical Society at the Karum of Kanesh, which began in 1948, were continued from August to October, 1949 by last year's staff members and two Turkish Assyriologists. Investigations showed that the city of the colonists was not independent of Kanesh, but a large quarter within the Anatolian city. This year, large areas in levels I and II and smaller sections in levels III and IV were dug. The top level had two phases, of which the more recent, I a, shows differences in building techniques from the older levels. Phase I b was characterized by regular streets, houses of two rooms or rectangular single rooms and courtyards, and workshops with stone pavements. One house contained a stele with a stone basin. The phase was destroyed by fire, and quantities of small objects were found in situ (Fig. 13), including lead figurines of Hittite deities, painted and monochrome Hittite pottery, fine rhyta in the form of bulls or rams (Fig. 14), stamp seals, and weapons. Such features as bathtubs in the houses, well equipped workshops, and especially the rich funeral gifts prove the prosperity of the city. No tablets were found in either phase of level I.

The second level, which was destroyed by a disas-



FIG. 14. KANESH. LEVEL I b,
POTTERY RHYTON.

trous fire, is important in every respect. In this level, which was already known to contain the main Assyrian archives, the excavators found shops, storerooms, administrative buildings, and four new archives. Archive buildings and houses alike are constructed according to local Anatolian techniques and plans, and there is no indication of Assyro-Babylonian architecture. The following types of houses were found: (a) A courtyard building with six or seven



FIG. 15. KANESH. LEVEL II, CUNEIFORM TABLET.

rooms, a pillared hall, a workshop, and a big oven. In a corner of one room a stele or altar was erected; such structures within the house are not known elsewhere. The most important objects of the house, tablets and envelopes, were kept in this room, which was reached by a corridor from the main part of the house. (b) A house with a rectangular plan, six rooms, and no courtyard. (c) A house with two rooms and a staircase. (d) A house with two courtyards in front and usually a staircase. Although the foundations are weak, it is thought that these staircases are evidence of two-storied buildings rather than means of access to a flat roof. The houses in general were well planned



FIG. 16. KANESH. LEVEL II, RHYTON

and are in a good state of preservation, showing high plastered mudbrick walls, windows, doors, hearths, and ovens. As in every level of the Karum, the city plan was so crowded that the houses almost touched one another. Quarters composed of various kinds of houses were oriented to the main streets of the city. These buildings contained 1,000 tablets and envelopes (Fig. 15). Other finds of this level include polychrome and monochrome Hittite pottery, including lion and bull rhyta (Fig. 16), a vessel in the shape of a snail, and decorated terracotta boots and boxes.

The orientation of the streets and houses of level III was a different one, indicating that an important change in city plan occurred at the time of the building of level II, but the Karum area was also densely settled during level III. The buildings have foundations of nicely hewn stones, and consist of two to four rooms (Fig. 17). Domed ovens of stone and mudbrick were preserved in their original state (Fig. 18).



FIG. 17. KANESH. LEVEL III, HOUSES.

The evidence of the pottery of all these levels largely confirms last season's conclusions. Three varieties were known. The first is the so-called Hittite monochrome ware, which was found in a variety of forms (e.g., Figs. 19-21). This was in use therefore

before the establishment of the Old Hittite Kingdom ca. 1600 B.C., and is apparently an indigenous Anatolian ware, taken over by the Hittites and little changed in style down to 1200 B.C. However, in level I the ware is coarser than before, and new shapes begin to appear. In level IV a class of handmade polychrome pottery is in use with the monochrome. The second type of pottery is the "Hittite" vases with painted decoration. As far as our present knowledge goes, these seem to be a specialty at Kültepe. They are always wheelmade. The decoration in the majority of cases consists of geometric motifs which are directly



FIG. 18. KANESH. LEVEL III, OVEN.

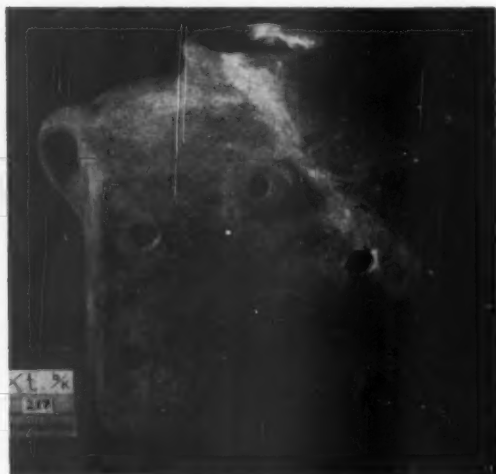


FIG. 19. KANESH. LEVEL I b, POTTERY VESSEL.

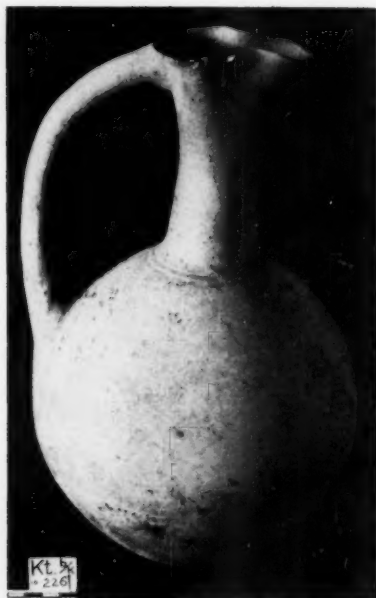


FIG. 20. KANESH. LEVEL Ib, POTTERY VESSEL.

connected with motifs on Cappadocian ware, and less often of bird and tree patterns. Hook- and S-



FIG. 21. KANESH. LEVEL Ib, POTTERY VESSEL.

motifs, which occurred in Anatolia toward the end of the third millennium, show their most developed forms in this period. The shapes of this pottery are the same as those of the monochrome ware. Vases of this ware are found especially in level II, to a lesser extent also in level III. The third type of pottery in the Karum is the Cappadocian painted, or Alishar III, ware. This is a handmade pottery, which occurs especially in level IV, with a few specimens in level III. Shapes and motifs are the same as those of Alishar III (Fig. 22). The most interesting point is that they were found in use in the same level, and



FIG. 22. KANESH. LEVEL IV, POTTERY VESSEL.

even in the same houses, as Hittite monochrome ware. This is excellent evidence to the fact that the ancient native traditions continued in the time of the colonists.

Objects of silver, lead, bronze, and gold were found mostly in graves; the most interesting objects are the figurine of a seated woman, a crescent, and an antelope figurine. This year for the first time cylinder seals were discovered, and in the latest level typical Hittite stamp seals.

The second season of excavations in the Karum confirms the suggestions of the first season as to the indigenous character of the culture. Apart from the cuneiform documents and a great number of cylinder seal impressions, all objects were made in local tech-

rooms and forms; and the houses were constructed with local materials and according to local plans to suit the Anatolian climate. The burial customs, the statuary, the lion and bull rhyta all show the predominance of native traditions. The civilization of the Karum is in the truest sense of the word an Anatolian civilization, showing the beginnings of the features commonly known as Hittite. It is noticeable that in this trade colony of Assyrians there is not a single Mesopotamian object. Had it not been for the documents, this would have seemed an ordinary Anatolian city.

The autumn season of 1949 closed the campaign at Tell Atchana (Alalakh), according to Sir Leonard Woolley. The final campaign was remarkably satisfactory in that it cleared up a number of historical points about which previous years had left some doubt.

The work carried out below the level VII (eighteenth century) temple yielded a series of temples going back to level XVI—i.e., almost to the foundation of the city. While many of them had been completely destroyed, those of levels XVI, XIV, and XII were relatively well preserved and afforded interesting comparisons with other well known buildings of the Middle East, the changes in plan reflecting the political vicissitudes of this frontier state. It was found that the painted pottery (sometimes compared to Khabur ware) which persists into the sixteenth century goes back to level XVI, a pre-Jamdat Nasr level, when it was developed out of more primitive wares occurring in the somewhat sketchy level XVII. The characteristic decoration with the triglyph design and bird or animal motifs continued in use for the best part of two thousand years. More thorough soundings at Tabara al-Akrad to the east of Atchana allowed the establishment of a sequence from the painted Chalcolithic pottery of Tell esh-Sheikh through the Khirbet Kerak pottery of Tabara itself to the earliest wares of Atchana XVII.

A small-scale excavation at the northwest end of the Atchana mound permitted the identification of the site of the city's castle, and something of its character and history from level VII down to the final destruction of the city in 1194 B.C. were traced. Its most interesting feature was a great rampart built of mudbrick with a steep glacis face, the greatest dimensions being about 25 m. width by 12 m. height; of this three versions were found, dating from level VI (seventeenth century) to level III, when the city was re-fortified by the Hittite conqueror Suppiluliuma.

Some valuable topographic work was done, clearing up a number of problems. The layout of the north-west part of the town in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries is now fairly complete, and the relation between the military, the governmental, and the

religious quarters is visible. This makes it easier to see the radical changes made by Niquempa in about 1450 B.C., and by the Hittites 75 years later.

Excavations in the Temple of Artemis at Amyzon were carried out in 1949 by M. Louis Robert. The plan of the temple is clear, and various elements of the superstructure are preserved. A number of blocks from the temple or the gate-house, containing some interesting Hellenistic decrees, were found built into Byzantine walls. The excavation work has been completed, and M. Robert is preparing the publication.

IRAQ

The following report on the 1949 excavations of the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities was provided through the kindness of Dr. Henry Field.

The third season of excavations at Eridu (Tell Abu Shahrain) ended in March, 1949. In a sounding made through the settlement, an Ubaid period hut of reeds plastered with clay, standing in some places to a height of about one meter, was found in level X. This hut, similar to those of present-day inhabitants of the marshes, fits well with the picture of the dwellings of the earliest inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia suggested some time ago by Sir Leonard Woolley. In a small mound near Abu Shahrain was found a complex of palaces, similar in many respects to Palace "A" of Kish, and dating to the beginning of Early Dynastic III. Finds were few, but included two small alabaster statuettes of Sumerian princes, done by a school of sculpture which seems native to Eridu.

Work is continuing at the little site of Tell Harmal in the city-state of Eshnunna. The settlement is only about 100 m. square, surrounded by a wall some 4 m. thick, with a single gateway and 28 projecting towers. Within the wall is a large building which seems to have been the administrative headquarters of the city, and a number of smaller buildings which were apparently used for both houses and offices. All these buildings contained cuneiform tablets, over 2,000 having been found to date; a law code and a large geographical tablet with lists of cities are among the most important.

Several soundings were made at Tell al-Lahm and the neighboring ridges. The mound itself is 13 m. high and almost oblong in outline, measuring 350 × 300 m. It is surrounded with a thick mudbrick wall, which is strengthened at the corners by round buttresses. By these soundings the stratification of the main mound was clarified; the lowest level reached dates to the Early Dynastic period, and the uppermost level belonged to the end of the Kassite period. In the outside ridges several buildings of Neo-Babylonian or Achaemenid date were discovered. Here were found several tablets of Nabonidus and Darius, plain

and glazed pottery, beads, and burials in pottery troughs.

At a place near Chemchemal, locally called Barda-Balka, the Department of Antiquities has recently discovered a Neolithic monolith 4 m. high, standing in the center of a Paleolithic settlement, upon the surface of which were scattered various types of stone implements, such as coups de poing and scrapers.

The inspectors of the Department of Antiquities have continued their systematic exploration of Iraq and registered about 200 new sites, with a complete study of the surface material on each. This brings the total number of registered ancient sites to about 4,500.

A large tablet, completely intact, inscribed on both faces with the events of sixteen years of the reign of Shalmaneser III, was accidentally discovered at Qal'at Shirgat, and is now on display in the Iraq Museum. It is a very important document, for it has more details than the other known annals of this king. Professor G. G. Cameron of the University of Michigan is at present working on its translation.

Professor Donald E. McCown reports on the recent work of the Joint Expedition to Nippur (the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). In the area of the Temple of Enlil, the earliest temple appears to be late Akkadian, and is followed by one of the time of Ur-Nammu. There are traces of an Isin-Larsa temple, which was almost completely destroyed by the construction of a Kassite temple; the latter cannot yet be precisely dated, but was refurbished by the late Kassite kings in the thirteenth century. The latest Enlil temple is late Assyrian; it is in very fragmentary condition, having been destroyed partly by Parthian foundations and partly by trenches of former expeditions. The plans of the earlier temples are all substantially the same, but that of the Assyrian temple differs. In general, the temples had been thoroughly cleaned out before rebuilding took place, so the objects found were relatively few.

The second excavation area was on the so-called Tablet Hill, renamed the Scribal Quarter by Professor McCown, where an upper and a lower section were opened. The upper, 20×40 m. in extent, yielded good levels of Achaemenid and Assyro-Neo-Babylonian times, and poorer levels of early Assyrian and late Kassite date. This sector was linked stratigraphically in a small area with the lower sector. The latter was 35×40 m. in extent, and had First Dynasty of Babylon material at the top, then three levels of Isin-Larsa date and one of the late Third Dynasty of Ur. The area seems to have been occupied by scribes throughout its entire history, and has yielded around 750 tablets, as well as good series of pottery and other objects.

Professor McCown and his colleagues are working on an interim report, which will be a complete publication of the finds to date; the next excavation season will begin in the fall of 1951.

IRAN

Dr. R. Ghirshman reports that the work at Susa during the winter of 1949/50 was pursued in the two large sectors established in former seasons. In the "Ville Royale" sector, which is destined to establish the stratigraphy of Susa, the third city, which dates from the end of the Sassanian period and the beginning of Islam, has been removed, and the fourth city cleared. The latter has yielded three fine mudbrick constructions bordering a street which descends to the ramparts; in the middle of this street was a basin or watering-trough. One of the buildings, whose importance is indicated by its size, contains a great hall whose fallen walls are covered with frescoes. This hall gives on a large open area bordered by a footpath of baked bricks.

The fourth city bears traces of deliberate destruction, with enormous sections of wall thrown to the ground. Halls, rooms, and courts are literally riddled with the tombs of people hastily buried; the adults were simply laid in the earth, often covered with a few bricks, and the children were buried in jars. A sterile layer nearly two meters thick separates the floor of level III from that of IV. An important number of Parthian, Elymaide, and Sassanian coins come from these ruins; none is later than the reign of Shapur II, allowing the assumption that the destruction of the city dates from the reign of this king. Shapur II was contemporaneous with Constantine the Great. With the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, the Christians of Iran became suspect, and the king persecuted them during the length of his long reign. Seeking to escape from the great cities, large numbers of Christians fled to the outer provinces of Iran, where they re-formed their communities in various cities, among them Susa. The Acts of the Martyrs tells us that to quell a revolt of the Christians of Susa, Shapur II sent his army and 300 elephants, and that the latter trampled the city. The historical records fit well with the state of the ruins to identify city IV as the one which Shapur destroyed, and this identification is supported by the occurrence of Nestorian crosses in silver, and painted in black on the funerary jars.

Excavations in the second sector, that on the "Ville des Artisans," started from the edges of the hill and advanced some 80 m. toward the center. More than 100 tombs have come to light. Some consisted of an entrance shaft and a vaulted funerary chamber dug into virgin soil, containing one or two sarcophagi in ordinary or glazed pottery. Other tombs are veritable hypogea, in which a staircase of 15-20 steps leads to

a sort of vestibule through which one enters the funerary chambers. In the heart of the tell the vestiges of a village with houses of mudbrick was found on a natural eminence situated under the Parthian necropolis. On the outskirts of this village an area 30 m. square was covered with more than 700 vases thrown helter-skelter. All sorts of vases were represented, among them goblets, pitchers, pots, and little jars. The most interesting form is a pot provided with a double strainer base, from which a spout, joined to the outer wall, extended to the orifice of the vessel. The largest part of the pottery is of red clay, little levigated and imperfectly fired; a smaller proportion is very well fired, decorated with painting, and of forms identical with those of Necropolis B at Sialk. Finally, a third type is represented by "pot à oreillettes" in glazed pottery, similar to those of the end of the Elamite kingdom and to the Achaemenid pottery found at Susa and at Persepolis. Three Elamite tablets came from this installation. They seem to belong to the group of more than 300 tablets found by J. de Morgan and published by R. P. Scheil, who attributes them to the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. They are characterized by frequent mention of the Persians, and by numerous Iranian proper names. This last discovery seems to close the gap between the pre- and proto-historic, and the historic, periods of Iran.

AFGHANISTAN

Mr. Walter Fairservis reports that under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, an archaeological reconnaissance party of three (Mr. Fairservis and Louis Dupree as archaeologists and Henry Hart as surveyor) spent the summer and early fall of 1949 in Afghanistan. Through the kind offices of Minister of Education Aziz and Ahmad Ali Kohzad, Director of Archaeology, permission was granted to survey the Seistan and middle Helmand areas for prehistoric indications. Mr. Daniel Schlumberger, Director of the *Délégation Archéologique Française*, and his colleague, M. Raoul Curiel, were most hospitable to the group while they were in Kabul, especially in their offer of the use of their ample archaeological library.

The survey undertook three kinds of research. The first was geological research in the Helmand valley, in an effort to determine the Pleistocene evidences there and, as an essential part of this effort, to search for the indications of early man. The Helmand was surveyed at ten-mile intervals at a point 90 miles south of Girishk. Side trips into the Dasht-i-Margo were made for further elaboration of the evidence. North of Girishk these surveys were carried 70 miles to a point just beyond Kajakai. A flying visit was made to Abdul Rahman, 100 miles northeast on the Hel-

mand. The surveys consisted of mapping, collection of rock samples, and photographing of the formations. Preliminary study of the evidence indicates that this area was unglaciated; no moraines, striations, gumbotiles, etc. were encountered. The Helmand was singularly lacking in terraces, there being an abrupt change from the desert plateau to the modern flood plain. Therefore present assumptions are: (a) that some parts of the terrace formation are buried under the modern flood plain; (b) that terraces will be encountered farther north, where the effect of montaine glaciers is manifest (ex. Bamiyan valley); (c) more significant, the assumption that the arid conditions brought about by the tectonics of the Baluchistan and the Suleiman ranges were in operation during the Ice Age, thus preventing the deposition of moisture on the southern slopes of the Koh-i-Baba. More research is needed to answer these problems, but at least the picture has been set in its preliminary frame.

No artifacts of Paleolithic man were found, in spite of the search of caves and intensive coverage of the survey points. Flint is rare in these regions, but chalcodony and quartzite are abundant. In the Bamiyan valley quartzite types were picked up that may, after more collecting is accomplished in future seasons, be confirmed as artificially derived. It is felt that the lack of glaciation in the Helmand valley may have made the area important to Paleolithic man, and that further search, particularly in cave sites, will reveal his traces there.

The second aspect of the survey was the locating and surface collection of sites belonging to the early village horizons. Afghanistan, and especially Afghan Seistan, had always been regarded as of maximum importance for archaeological research. The relationships between the so-called "Chalcolithic" cultures of Iran and those of Baluchistan and the Indus may be clarified by evidence from Afghanistan. The survey, with a thought to future excavations, concentrated on the location of these sites. In Seistan, under extremely trying climatic conditions, 35 tells were investigated and surface collections made at each. The bulk of the sherds was Islamic, and a quantity may be just pre-Islamic. Most important, however, are the scraps of painted sherds that were recovered, particularly a reddish-brown-on-buff ware with simple geometric designs strongly reminiscent of Hissar I. A chalcodony knife was found just south of Girishk on the Helmand and turned over to the survey group. Pottery and a grooved stone axe were reported with it, but a visit to the find-spot was completely negative. While in the Quetta valley, en route to Chaman, a tell was visited 45 miles from Quetta. Painted sherds, principally red and black-on-red, were found abundantly. The designs were usually interlocking lozenges, and triangles similar to those found by Stein at

Dabar-Kot. This polychrome ware is interesting, due to the lack of polychrome in the vicinity of Quetta, as reported by Stuart Piggott.

As a supplement to the expedition's principal work may be mentioned the discovery of numerous petroglyphs. These are widespread over Afghanistan, and are practically identical with those seen by Bobrinskoy and others in the Pamirs. Subject matter consisted principally of ibex, checkerboards, and human hands. Human figures appear occasionally, and there is an abundance of undecipherable signs.

While in Seistan a brief visit to Peshawarun, an abandoned Islamic city of perhaps the thirteenth century, was made in the hope that organic materials might be collected, not only for use in Carbon 14 tests, but also as evidence for the problems of dessication in these areas. Peshawarun is one of a number of such sites in Seistan; it is mentioned by various authors and was visited by Hackin and Ghirshman before the war. While Islamic sites were completely outside the intentions of the survey, the interest in Central Asian climatic tendencies is such that a brief visit was most profitable.

Publication of particular aspects of the expedition's work is in progress. The promise for prehistoric work in Afghanistan, as revealed by this survey, is such that a second expedition is being planned for the season 1950/51 by the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, in co-operation with the government of Afghanistan.

Dr. D. Schlumberger reports that in 1949 excavations were carried out by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan in the largest of the Ghaznavid palaces at Laskari Bazar near Qala'-i-Bist.⁵ The autumn campaign was devoted to clearing the main room of the palace, which was apparently an audience-hall. Of outstanding interest is the discovery in that room of representational paintings showing rows of men wearing richly ornamented dresses. There must have been about 50 of these figures originally, and remains of 44 of them are preserved. In style, as well as in the details of the dresses, these paintings recall some of the Buddhist paintings of Chinese Turkestan. Inside the audience-hall, toward the rear and half-concealed by a pillar, a small mosque was found, with its walls and prayer-niche profusely covered with ornament. In utter contrast to the paintings in the secular part of the hall, these ornaments offer only "arabesque" motifs and are devoid of any figures. The excavations are to be continued in the autumn of 1950.

INDIA

Mr. A. Ghosh, Deputy Director General of Ar-

⁵ On the earlier campaign, cf. *AJA* 54, No. 1 (1950) 67, and *CRAI* 1949.

chaeology in India, has kindly sent the following report.

The report of the 1948 excavations at Sisupalgarh in Orissa has been published in *Ancient India* 5 (January 1949). During the cold weather of 1949-50, the work was resumed in order to expose a large area of the ancient town. Simultaneously the remains at Dhauli, the site of the rock-edict of Asoka, were partly explored, and it was ascertained that occupation on this site was partly contemporary with that of Sisupalgarh and partly post-dated it. A trial trench was made in Old Rājgir near Patna in order to verify the stratigraphic position of the "northern black polished ware," and it was indicated that there was only a flimsy occupation in the city before the introduction of that ware. The results, however, require confirmation by more extensive excavation.

The University of Allahabad has been excavating the site of Kauśāmbi near Allahabad for the last two seasons. While the upper levels date from Kushan times (second century after Christ), the lower levels antedate the introduction of "northern black polished ware," and therefore seem to go back to the later centuries of the first half of the first millennium B.C. The rich site of Vaiśālī, partly dug in the early decades of the present century, was selected for further excavation with funds provided by a local association. As it was not possible to pump out the sub-soil water from the trenches, the lower levels could not be touched; the excavated levels, however, ranged in date from about the third century B.C. to the early Christian centuries. The upper levels of the site of Karād in Satāra District, Bombay, were found, in the excavation done on behalf of the Bhārat Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, to belong to the Sātavāhana period (second century after Christ). The earlier ones may go back to the pre-Sātavāhana period, about which next to nothing is known in the Deccan. The report has been published as a memoir of the Maṇḍala (Poona, 1949).

In order to complete the picture of the megalithic monuments in Chingleput District obtained by surface exploration, two typical megaliths in the immense field at Sanur were excavated. The square grave-chambers, built of large boulders placed on edge, were found to contain legged pottery sarcophagi of different sizes, with or without bones, and grave furniture of pottery and iron implements. A few sites in the north-western part of the Ganges-Jumna valley have been found to contain in their lower levels a distinctive painted gray ware which seems to antedate the "northern black polished ware." Further researches are being carried out to ascertain the occurrence and stratigraphic position of this ware. Professor F. E. Zeuner,

⁶ Cf. *Ancient India* 1 (1946) 55-58.

the renowned geo-chronologist of the University of London, visited India during 1949 with a view to investigating the relationship of the various geological deposits in Gujarat, Dharwar, Madras and neighborhood, Tinnevely, Mayurbhanj, and Mirzapur with the stone implements of the areas. Satisfactory results were obtained; a full report is, however, awaited.

ARABIA

Professor William F. Albright reports as follows:

The Arabian Expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man was in South Arabia from January to late April, 1950. It was directed by the president of the Foundation, Mr. Wendell Phillips, with the aid of a staff of some 15 Europeans and Americans. The work in South Arabia was independent of the other undertaking of the American Foundation in Sinai (the microfilming of the entire library of St. Catherine's Monastery) under the field direction of Mr. William B. Terry, which began several weeks earlier and lasted three months longer. The scientific and scholarly staff of the Arabian Expedition consisted of Mr. Charles H. Inge, Director of Antiquities in Aden and formerly head of the Lachish Expedition in Palestine, Professors A. M. Honeyman (St. Andrews, Scotland) and A. Jamme, P. B. (Louvain and Tunis), Drs. F. Heybroek (The Hague) and Richard LeB. Bowen, Jr. (Rhode Island), as well as the present writer. While much scholarly research was accomplished in Aden and neighboring areas, as well as in the Hadhramaut, the main objective of the expedition was the Wādi Beihān in the Western Aden Protectorate, to which the entire party gave nearly two months of intensive work. In order to reach the Wādi Beihān, we had to travel some 600 miles from Aden by steamer and truck, though direct communication with Aden by R.A.F. and specially chartered plane took less than two hours of flight over impassable mountains.

Dr. Heybroek devoted himself to geology and cartography, in which he was assisted by two British navigators, sent in to determine the exact latitude and longitude by observations of the stars. For the first time we have an accurate map of the Wādi Beihān and its relation to the Hadhramaut; hitherto there were only rough sketch maps, and its precise location was not fixed on any general map, so that it floated around like some gigantic vermiform appendix on different maps of South Arabia. Dr. Bowen made most of the plans and sections for the excavations, and carried out a series of explorations and soundings which fixed the general lines of the history of irrigation in the Wādi Beihān for more than a thousand years of intensive cultivation, from the middle of the first millennium B.C. down to the collapse of the Himyarite culture. The results were extraordinary in every

respect, and form the most solid basis for a history of irrigation in any region that the writer has ever seen or knows of through publications.

Professor Jamme devoted himself mainly to archaeological and epigraphical work, recording by photography, paper and latex impressions, and hand copies over 600 inscriptions in Aden, the Wādi Beihān, and elsewhere. Most of these inscriptions are new; among them are the oldest graffiti yet recorded in South Arabia, dating back probably to the ninth century B.C. or possibly even earlier.

Professor Honeyman worked on archaeological and epigraphical material. The documents which were excavated have been divided for purposes of publication between Jamme and Honeyman. The writer also devoted himself to archaeological work, besides supervising the archaeological program in general; most of his time was spent on the mound of Hajar Bin Humaid, digging through the foundations of masonry structures belonging to some seven phases of occupation, divided for convenience into four strata. The depth of occupation deposits on this site is estimated at 15 m.; since we dug on a scarp section where a canal had gradually eroded the slope of the mound, exposing the stratification to view, we were able to distinguish at least seven strata below our lowest level, with a total depth of nearly 11 m. still remaining to be examined. Since the top four strata covered a period (though with at least one long gap before mediaeval Arab times) extending backwards from the fifteenth-fourteenth centuries A.D. to the third-second centuries B.C., the 11 unexcavated meters presumably carry us well back into the second millennium B.C.—long before the earliest inscriptions yet known.

Our principal archaeological work was concentrated on the South Gate of the ancient capital of Qatabān, Timna' or Tamna'. Mr. Inge started work here, with the assistance of Kenneth Brown and other members of the expedition. After Mr. Inge returned to Aden, Mr. Brown continued working here under the writer's supervision. The South Gate and an adjacent stretch of city wall and revetment were first uncovered, after which work continued immediately inside the city with the exposure of the outer walls of four important buildings and adjacent constructions. An area of houses in the center of the city was cleared by Dr. Honeyman, while Mr. Phillips cleared the area around the obelisk of king Shahr Yagil. Dr. Honeyman also carried out excavations in the cemetery adjoining the city on the other side of a small valley.

Thanks to the discovery of two large "Himyarite" copper (or bronze) lions carrying little naked *erotes*, who guided them with chains fastened to their snouts, we were able to establish a useful synchronism with the Mediterranean world of the day. The two lions are on bases bearing identical Qatabanian inscrip-

tions, which connect them directly with an inscription on the wall of the house *Y-F-SH*- (pronounced *Yafash* for convenience) dated in the reign of the late Qatabanian king Shahr Yagil Yuhargib. Construction and decoration of the house *Y-F-SH* is explicitly mentioned in all three inscriptions, and so is the name of one of the builders, Thuwaibum. These lions cannot antedate the second century B.C., since they are Himyarite imitations of advanced Hellenistic models; they bring additional confirmation of the high praise accorded South Arabian metallurgy by the Hellenistic writers Agatharchides (middle decades of the second century B.C.) and Strabo. Other objects of Hellenistic origin from the last period of Qatabanian Timna' were also found in the ruins of the great conflagration which destroyed the city. Utilizing the archaeological evidence, and combining it with the evidence for interrelations between Qatabân, Saba, and Hadhramaut in the period just preceding and following the invasion of Aelius Gallus in the year 24 B.C., we arrive at a date about 50 B.C. for the destruction of Timna' and the end of the independent Qatabanian kingdom.

Thanks to full utilization of the now available archaeological, palaeographical, and other evidence, it is possible to date the foundation of the Qatabanian kingdom (following a period of rule by viceroys, *MKRB*) about the fifth century B.C. when the *MKRB* Yadi'ab Dhubyan made himself king of Qatabân. Shahr Yagil, who erected the obelisk, may be dated in the third century B.C.; with him began the Golden Age of Qatabân, which came to an end somewhere about 100 B.C. and was rapidly followed by disintegration of the monarchy and the destruction of Timna', about 50 B.C. Timna' was later reoccupied and in part rebuilt, but it never again became prosperous. After 50 B.C. it became part of a greater Hadhramaut, whose kings ruled the Wâdi Beihân for several generations. Still later it seems to have become part of the revived Sabaeen kingdom, but none of the latter's kings are mentioned in any inscriptions discovered in the Wâdi Beihân this season.

The utter chaos which has hitherto prevailed in

South Arabian archaeology is due to the lack of systematic excavation, combined with the astonishing lack of published photographs of original royal inscriptions or squeezes. No palaeography worthy of the name has been possible. Thanks to our discoveries and the able recording of material by Father Janine, we expect systematic South Arabic palaeography to emerge as one of the products of our campaign. We have already solved many of the chronological problems which have beset the student of South Arabian history: the floruit and fall of Qatabân, the age of the Minaean kingdom (actually from the late fifth to the end of the second century B.C., even later than Winnett's dates, on the whole), the emergence of the kingdom of Hadhramaut in the fifth century B.C. instead of centuries earlier, and its floruit between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.

There are many major problems which remain to be solved; among them are the early history of sedentary culture in South Arabia (before the ninth century B.C.), the date of the domestication of the camel (possibly in South Arabia during the middle centuries of the second millennium), the prehistory of South Arabia (from Mesolithic to Chalcolithic). No light was cast by our work this season on any of these, or on many other minor problems. If the world situation permits, the American Foundation for the Study of Man expects to send out an expedition again this coming winter (1951) to continue the work so auspiciously begun at this time. Thanks to the continued interest and support of such firms as Chrysler, Shell, United States Steel, General Electric, Squibb, and many others, our transport and flow of supplies is assured, while other needed funds have come from a grant in aid from Mr. Wallace Richards, director of the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, and other generous contributors. Before these lines were written, the antiquities from Beihân had arrived safely in the Carnegie Museum. It remains to emphasize the fine co-operation which the expedition received, both from the British authorities in Aden and from Sherif Hussein Beihân and his brother Sherif Auwadh.

NECROLOGY

STEPHEN B. LUCE, *Editor*

EDWARD CAPPS was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, December 21, 1866, and died at Princeton, New Jersey, August 22, 1950. He was graduated from Illinois College in 1887, and received his doctor's degree at Yale in 1891, where he served as Tutor in Latin, 1890-1892. Appointed Professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Chicago University in 1892, he spent the year 1893-1894 at the American School at Athens, and attended the University of Halle in 1894-1895. In 1907, he was called to Princeton as Professor of Classics, a position which he held until his retirement in 1936. From that date until 1941 he was a Visiting Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study.

From the very beginning of his career, Capps' executive and administrative abilities were widely recognized. At Chicago he was given the task of editing the Decennial Publications of the University in twenty-nine volumes. He served as President of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1907-1908; of the American Philological Association in 1914-1915; of the American Association of University Professors in 1919-1920; and from 1910 until his death he was American editor of the Loeb Classical Library.

In his chosen field, Capps' primary interest was in Greek poetry and drama, and this is reflected in his published works, of which the most important were: *From Homer to Theocritus*, 1901; *The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia*, 1903; and *Four Plays of Menander*, 1910. But in his later years, Greek archaeology came more and more to play a great part in his life. He became a member of the Managing Committee of the American School at Athens in 1908. Elected Chairman of the Committee in 1918, he served in that capacity until 1939, and the impressive development of the School and its activities during these twenty-one years was largely due to his initiative. It is significant that at the beginning of his chairmanship, the number of cooperating institutions was twenty-five and the endowment not quite \$141,500; in 1939 there were forty-five cooperating institutions and the endowment had grown to more than \$1,600,000. During the same period, the William Caleb Loring Residence Hall and the Gennadeion—to house the remarkable library given to the School by His Excellency Johannes Gennadios—had been added to the original School building in Athens, and a museum had been built to house the results of many years of excavations at Corinth. Most important of all, funds had been obtained from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Rockefeller Foundation for the excavation of the Athenian Agora, a really tremendous undertaking

which has afforded opportunity for the training of a whole generation of American archaeologists. In 1932, *Hesperia*, a new quarterly intended primarily for the prompt publication of the results of the Agora excavations, had been established.

In all these undertakings, Capps was the moving spirit, but he somehow found time for service in other fields. In 1918-1919 he was Director of a Red Cross Commission to Greece, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and in 1920-1921 he served as United States Minister to Greece and Montenegro. In 1929, with Mr. John H. Finley, he succeeded in raising funds for the reerection of the fallen columns of the north side of the Parthenon and a few of the southern columns, and obtained from the Rockefeller Foundation a gift for the erection of a small museum in Mitylene. He was active in the foundation of Athens College and was for a time chairman of its board of trustees and of the Near East Foundation.

All these varied activities naturally brought him many honors. He received honorary degrees from seven institutions, including the University of Athens and Oxford University, and was decorated by both King Alexander and King George II of Greece. All this is gratefully recalled by his many friends and colleagues; but they will remember him most as a man who never refused an opportunity to serve the cause of classical studies or of that Greece which he so greatly loved. (George H. Chase)

CALVIN WELLS MCEWAN, former field director of the Oriental Institute's Syrian-Hittite Expedition, died in St. Paul on January 12, 1950. He was forty-three years old.

McEwan did his early work under the late Professor A. T. E. Olmstead and took his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1930. Shortly afterward he was appointed to the staff of the Oriental Institute's Anatolian Expedition (1931-32) and to its Iraq Expedition (1932-33). In 1933 he became acting field director of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, and in 1934, field director. His careful and methodical excavations at Chatel Huyuk, Tell Jedeideh, and Tell Tayanot established the basic stratigraphy of the Amouq valley, and at the last mentioned site, he discovered the lions of Tayanot which rank as one of the highest achievements of Syro-Hittite art.

In 1941 McEwan directed the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition to Tell Fakhariyeh in Syria undertaken jointly by the Oriental Institute and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The expedition completed one

successful season, but was prevented from continuing by the war. During the war McEwan served in the Army, first as captain, later as major. He returned to the Oriental Institute as research associate in 1947 to prepare the archaeological results of his excavations at Fakhariyeh for publication. He was at work on these materials until shortly before his death.

McEwan had exceptional gifts for leadership and was one of the most successful field directors the Institute has had. Those of us who worked under him in the field knew him at his best. Being somewhat im-

patient with details and yet remarkably well informed in a historical sense, he always saw the woods through the trees and inspired his staff to control the details. He made friends easily for his expedition and himself, irrespective of class, creed, or nationality. His personality was forthright and forceful, and very winning in a peculiarly American way—his name will be well remembered in many Near Eastern villages as well as capitals.

He is survived by his wife and two sons. (Thorkild Jacobsen, Robert J. Braidwood)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Loom of Prehistory, a Commentary and a select Bibliography of the Prehistory of Southern Africa, by A. J. H. Goodwin. (The South African Archaeological Society, Handbook Series, no. 2.) Pp. 151. Capetown, 1946. 15 shillings cloth, 12/6 paper.

Primitive Pottery, an Introduction to South African Ceramics Prehistoric and Protohistoric, by J. F. Schofield. (The South African Archaeological Society, Handbook Series, No. 3.) Pp. 220, figs. 7, pls. 14 and map. Capetown, 1948. 17s. 6d.

The Bored Stones of South Africa, by A. J. H. Goodwin. (Annals of the South African Museum, vol. 37, pt. 1.) Pp. 210, figs. 9, maps 16. Capetown, 1947. £1.6.0.

In Mr. Goodwin's extremely well-organized and useful handbook, *The Loom of Prehistory*, the subject of the Stone Ages of South Africa has been treated for the first time on a regional basis in a comprehensive and concise manner. In the discussion of each area the author presents the salient data in terms of the material found in the surrounding regions. For this purpose the country is divided into twelve zones, as follows: (a) Northern Rhodesia, (b) Southern Rhodesia, (c) Northern Bechuanaland, (d) the Transvaal proper, (e) Natal, (f) the Vaal Basin, (g) the Lower Orange Basin, (h) Thirstland—the vast arid region extending to the south of the Vaal-Orange drainage, (i) the Upper Orange River and Basutoland, (j) Southeastern Cape, (k) Southern Cape or Outeniquas, and (l) Southwestern Cape. The book opens with a historical summary, which is followed by a complete and well-documented regional commentary. Part IV deals with general works on South African prehistory, and finally there is a carefully compiled bibliography of selected works covering the entire field. Throughout, the geological and climatological events that occurred in South Africa during Pleistocene times, which pro-

vide the key to the dating and interpretation of the archaeological materials, are very adequately covered.

"This is the Loom of Prehistory: it is intended to attempt some analysis of the interweaving elements of time, culture, man and area in the light of past research and publication" (10). Not only has Mr. Goodwin made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Stone Age cultures of South Africa, but also, in a very much broader sense, he has indicated the lines along which coherent regional surveys of the early archaeological materials found in other areas of the Old World can and should be attempted. In short he has ably demonstrated how it is possible to weave into a patterned fabric the material from an area of sub-continental proportions. All professional workers will find this book of great value for reference purposes; certainly no one who professes an interest in the overall field of Old World Palaeolithic archaeology can afford to be without it. In the meantime, it is hoped that as an appropriate sequel to *The Loom of Prehistory*, the author will publish a somewhat more elaborate and extensive work on the same subject, which is very badly needed. It is now over twenty years since this was last attempted on anything approaching an adequate scale (cf. *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint* by M. C. Burkitt [Cambridge 1928]), and a new and up-to-date text-book in this rapidly expanding field would be most timely. Certainly no one is better qualified for this task than Mr. Goodwin, to whose long list of outstanding contributions to our knowledge of the South African field the present volume constitutes a welcome addition.

Although Mr. Schofield has written his *Primitive Pottery* for the use of contemporary workers in the South African field, this handbook is destined to prove of increasing value to students of the area so long as pottery remains in common use, and sherds are found in archaeological sites. As stated in the preface, "it

it might be objected that part of this volume smacks of ethnology rather than of archaeology; yet it must be remembered that today's ethnology is tomorrow's archaeology." Furthermore, what other region of the Old World lends itself so completely to this approach as South Africa? Indeed it is surprising that this is the first comprehensive treatment of the problem of primitive ceramics in South Africa, and it provides a firm basis for future research.

The author classifies the primitive pottery of South Africa under five heads, which may be summarized as follows:

(a) *Late Stone Age Pottery*: This is of sporadic and haphazard occurrence in open sites, decorated caves, and undecorated caves. According to the author, "it is very doubtful if any of the Late Stone Age people ever made pottery themselves, and the sherds recovered from the sites they occupied can, in almost every instance, be attributed to their Iron Age neighbors" (27).

(b) *Bushman Pottery*: Although at certain localities the Bushmen did make pottery on a very small scale, pottery-making cannot be included as a material culture trait of this group, since the efforts are at best only very poor imitations of the wares of more advanced peoples with whom they were in contact.

(c) *Hottentot Pottery*: The early European explorers found the nomadic Hottentots in possession of the Cape region of South Africa. They owned an ancient breed of cattle, called the Africaner or lateral-horned Zebu, sheep, and made a very distinctive type of thin, well-fired pottery. It is distinguished by the frequent use of a pointed base and of perforated lugs. Its classification is not considered practical at the present time by Mr. Schofield, since its characteristics are extremely uniform, and yet particular examples are so diverse in detail.

(d) *Iron Age Pottery*: The pottery from the Iron Age sites of South Africa, which, together with hoe agriculture, cattle-breeding, and iron and/or copper working, may be attributed to the Bantu peoples, has been classified by the author on broad territorial lines—Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Transvaal, and Natal. The earliest Iron Age pottery (Class R₁ ware), provisionally regarded as being not earlier than the eleventh century A.D., is that of the proto-Sotho peoples of Southern Rhodesia.

(e) *Recent Pottery*: This is designated by the tribal name of the people who made it. A historical account of the origin of each group is presented, and an attempt is made to link the modern wares up with those found in an archaeological context in the Iron Age sites of South Africa.

Although the primary contributions of this very clearly written and well-documented handbook are in the fields of late prehistoric archaeology and ethnol-

ogy, its value to students of primitive arts and crafts should not be overlooked. The wares produced by the various native potters of South Africa provide "a nexus between a primitive craft undertaken in the home from available materials, on the one hand, and further developments in the plastic arts on the other" (1). Thus, for teachers of ceramics this little book should provide an authoritative source of information. In addition, it may be regarded as a significant milestone in the ultimate establishment of a firm tie-up between archaeology and ethnology in South Africa.

In the opening paragraph of his outstandingly valuable memoir on *The Bored Stones of South Africa*, Mr. Goodwin points out for the benefit of those who tend to regard a typological study as providing an end in itself, that "in undertaking such a task [as this] it is essential to remember that the material of such a survey is useless in itself; it has value only as a source of legitimate deduction. It is obvious that we are dealing with a great mass of undigested evidence, of a series of superposed and, in some cases, completely independent cultural movements, into whose history we are attempting to gain insight." In selecting the bored stone for the first comprehensive study of South African prehistory, Mr. Goodwin has chosen a trait which has attracted the most widespread interest throughout the region under consideration. However, notwithstanding the fact that large numbers of these objects have been collected, the investigator is confronted at the outset with a mass of finds whose exact provenance and stratigraphic position are not clearly indicated.

A careful analysis of the material available for study has enabled the author to recognize two main groups, the first consists of very large bored stones, exceeding 15 cm. in diameter, which can be ascribed to an essentially agricultural people, almost certainly the Bantu, who employed them as digging-stick weights. On the basis of their distribution in the Eastern Transvaal, shown on Map 16 (194), where the greatest concentration of these stones occurs, the author deduces that their users were primarily cattle-keepers, for they are only very sporadically found below the 2500- to 3000-foot contours, the beginning of the area of distribution of the tsetse-fly. "We have here a clue, not only of those areas at one time infested by fly, but also to those areas that might once again become infested should vigilance be relaxed" (195). Thus the fact that the former extent of the tsetse country coincides with the line established on the basis of historic accounts has been confirmed by archaeology.

The second group includes round or elongated bored stones, which were used by non-agricultural peoples of whom the historic Bushmen are surviving representatives. These are found only in prehistoric sites of the

Late Stone Age in South Africa associated with one or more of the following elements—(a) Smithfield (B, C and N Phases), (b) Wilton, (c) Coastal Middens, (d) Pottery, (e) Rock-Paintings, and (f) Petroglyphs. A detailed distribution study of the round and elongated types indicates that the former, the bearers of which possessed a Smithfield culture, are apparently somewhat earlier than the latter. Although the southward spread of the round forms seems to have been interrupted for a considerable interval by a natural barrier—the Orange River and the arid region extending to the south (Thirstland)—this did not occur in the case of the elongated types, which have a more definitely coastal distribution and are possibly to be associated with a "Hottentot" culture. A truly amazing pattern of migration routes is revealed by Mr. Goodwin's painstaking analysis of the measurements of the bored stones of South Africa in relation to their geographic location. This has in fact led the author to recognize a series of routes, each showing a logical course, very few of which could have been predicted on the basis of previous knowledge.

PEABODY MUSEUM HALLAM L. MOVIUS, JR.
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Crestaulta, Eine bronzezeitliche Hügelsiedlung bei Surin in Lugnez. By *Walo Bukart*. (Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, Vol. V) Pp. 75, figs. 10, pls. 23 and 8 plans. Basel, 1946. Sw. fr. 24.

In a Swiss Alpine Valley, Graubünden, Lugnez, near the hamlet Surin and the river Glenner, is a steep hill called *Crestaulta*, "high hill." Here traces of a prehistoric site were found in 1935, and from 1936-1938 systematic excavations were carried out. The site, explored with scientific precision, is the basis of a book which gives us one of our best and clearest descriptions of a Central European prehistoric site.

The excavation of *Crestaulta* is the first evidence of a permanent settlement in the inner Swiss Alps during the Bronze Age. Three levels were explored on the site; the oldest one is assigned to the years 1800-1700 B.C., the middle to the years 1500-1300 B.C., and the latest period lasted until 1200 or 1100 B.C.

A stone path led up to the hill. The sides of the hill were protected with stone ramparts, so that the shape of the hill remains unchanged to this day. In the three levels, the remains of seven houses were found. These were built of upright wooden beams and clay, with ridge roof and crossbeams. Each structure housed 8 to 10 people. In the middle level were discovered: a potters' oven, the only one known in Switzerland from the Bronze Age; storage places for vessels; and cellar construction, which probably served for the storage of milk and meat. Production of copper was noted in the middle level. Tin was presumably brought

here by trade. A number of bronze implements, weapons and ornaments was found: blades of daggers, arrowheads, a sickle, pins, one glass and one amber bead. The site abounded in stone and horn implements.

The pottery finds, from at least 436 vessels, are particularly important. The pots were decorated by fillets below the lip or on the shoulder, by rows of small indentations and by finger prints on the rims. The finger prints prove that the pottery was women's work. Some vessels had symbols engraved on them, the "sun" and a concentric wheel. On the basis of ornament the author divides the *Crestaulta* pottery into ceramics for daily use and symbolically decorated wares. He associates the "sun" and concentric wheel on *Crestaulta* pottery with the cult of the sun. For more than fifty years prehistorians have postulated a sun-cult based on the evidence of such oft-recurring symbols as wheel, concentric wheel, cross, spiral, swastika, etc. These symbols can be traced back to the neolithic period (in Central Europe they occur on the pottery of the "Salzmünder Kultur" and "Walternieburg-Bernburger Kultur" of the Central German Saale region), continued in use in European agricultural countries throughout the prehistoric and historic times and are still found in contemporary folk art. Their meaning for present-day European peasants may give us a clue to their significance in the agricultural religion of their prehistoric forebears.

Because the houses at *Crestaulta* were burned, barley grains and wild beans were very well preserved. The small beans, *vicia Faba L.*, are of the variety found in many Mediterranean and Egyptian sites. An examination of the charcoal and the prints of leaves shows that the climate of the inner Alps was much warmer then than now. Traces of the silver fir, very rare in that area today, were noted, but the common spruce, now the prevalent evergreen in the Alpine valleys, was unknown in the Bronze Age.

The animal bones were mostly those of domesticated animals. More than half of them were sheep bones, the others in descending order were from cattle, goats, and pigs; also the bones of four dogs and one horse were found. Unfortunately at *Crestaulta* the animal bones could not be assigned certainly to any one level. Most of them belong to the middle or the lower levels. The horse bone proves the domestication of the local wild horse in the Bronze Age. We have few sure traces of the domesticated horse from the neolithic period. (We may note those from the later megalithic period in Scandinavia and North Germany, in the graves of the Polish "Ziota"-culture and in the catacomb graves of the Ukraine.) The author thinks the *Crestaulta* horse played an unimportant role in agricultural work, but we may assume that it had its part in the religion. The number of wild animals (wild boar, ibex, bear,

chamois buck) was comparatively small—barely 24—an indication that hunting was a very secondary source of food. The domestic animals, in all probability, were driven to pasture on the hillsides by the Alpine farmers as they are today. The site was inhabited by a resident farmer and shepherd population.

Human bones of one adult and of seven very small children, presumably infants, were excavated on the site. The significant discovery of the burial of newborn children within a habitation site will be of great importance to religious historians. The author suggests a connection with the ancestor-cult or with the sacrifice of unwanted, weakling children.

Some pots with knobs and tube-handles show connections with Italy before the migration of Urnfield culture (see G. von Mehrhart in *Germania* 1938. A vase from Castione, Italy, here illustrated, very closely resembles a Crestaulta urn). This similarity raises the question of the origin of Terremare pottery, which, according to Mehrhart, is supposed to be related to the "Vorvillanova-Grabfelder" Terremare, but in that pottery no tube-handles are found. The knobbed and groove-ornament of the Terremare might be connected with eastern regions such as Hungary (period Tosneg C.). Due to influences from the south and east, ceramics at Crestaulta probably developed in a different way than in other areas of Switzerland.

The Ligurians were presumably the earliest population of the site. The name of a river not far distant from the site is *Serenastge-Tobel*, which is Ligurian. Ethnic change or commercial intercourse is traced between the middle and upper levels; the influence of Lisitan culture is clearly felt.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

M. GIMBUTAS

The Statue of Idri-Mi, by Sidney Smith (with an Introduction by Sir Leonard Woolley). The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Occasional Publication No. 1. Pp. iii+109, figs. 2, pls. 17, 1 map. London, 1949. 25 shillings.

This scholarly "brochure" gives the complete text of the long cuneiform inscription cut on the front of the statue of King Idri-Mi which Sir Leonard Woolley discovered in the mound of 'Atshana in 1939. Photographs of various sections of the 104-line text engraved on the shoulders, arms, dress and even right cheek, testify to the correctness of the hand copy. Translation, commentaries and interpretation, including material from other historical sources, answer abundantly questions of epigraphy, grammar and chronology. The severe reduction of dates advocated in an earlier famed "brochure" (*Alalakh and Chronology* [London 1940]), is here confirmed and the reign of Idri-Mi at Alalakh (today 'Atshana) in North Syria is dated c. 1414-1385 B.C. He was a contemporary of Sutarra II,

king of the Hurri, whose Lordship extended over North Syria.

The statue originally belonged to a temple of the fourteenth century B.C. (level III) and was preserved through various periods of reconstruction, until, in the final destruction of the twelfth century, the broken fragments were buried in a deep hole, perhaps to safeguard them. The black basalt statue base, the so-called lion throne, badly damaged, and a basalt altar were left standing in the side shrine where they were first erected and in time were buried under the crumbling walls.

The statue, even in the opinion of Sir Leonard Woolley, is not a good piece of sculpture. The material is a soft white dolomite-magnesite stone, in places still highly polished. The king is represented seated on a box-like throne. Eyes and eyebrows are inlaid with black stones. He wears a long chiton reaching to the ankles and a cloak, the latter only suggested by its rolled borders. The whole surface seems to have been smoothed to receive the inscription. A pointed mitre covers his head. A mass of hair rolls slightly over the neck. The beard is smooth and plain. The king carries neither sceptre nor weapons. His right hand is placed flat on his chest, while the closed left rests in his lap. This is the proper attitude for a human ruler making a formal statement at the end of a happy reign: "I, the King, have written my labour on my statue." The statue probably antedates the abdication and was remodeled when it was placed on the basalt lion throne. The seat of the throne was hollowed to receive the statue, and two sockets were cut for the feet. A deep cut on the base of the statue between the feet made at that time must finally have brought about the breaking of the two feet. Nothing like this exists on almost contemporary statues of Tell Halaf; there the feet resting on a stone ledge or foot stool are not disengaged, but form part of the same block. The lions supporting the arms of the throne may be traced back, at least to the days of Kings Bur-Sin and Gimil-Sin of Ur, as their seal impressions show (U. 7014, 7015, 6748, 16558 to be published in *Ur Joint Expedition*, Vol. XI, No. 428-432). But it must be noted that the lions "passant" of Ur lash the air with their tails, while the tails of the "standing" lions of Idri-Mi probably hang down. Only "crouching" lions would curl their tails between their paws (Fig. 2).

The autobiographical inscription confirms the legitimate succession of Adad-nirari, son of Idri-Mi, King of Alalakh. It has historical and even literary merit, but the "mason's" work on the inscription was badly done. The cutting is often shallow, conforming to no monumental standard, and unusual or unknown signs and forms need correction. A list of signs helps identify them. Dubious readings are marked with an asterisk, not excluding possible errors and a right to

guess as a last resort. The most interesting and ominous instance is found in ll. 43-46 where: *ba-ra *su-tar-na . . . šar šabe^{pl} hur-ri^{ki}* (ll. 43-44), becomes *a-na ba-ra su-ar-na šarri(ri) šar šabe^{pl}*. AN-*wa-an-da aš-da-par* (ll. 45-46) and the notes pp. 18 and 58, where the King of the Hurri is called Lord Sutarna, not to be confused with *Par-sa-ša-tar* father of *Sauššatar* (a much earlier king) as suggested by Professor Albright. Idri-Mi of the statue is contemporary with Sutarna grandson of *Sauššatar*. In a connected account of the events in Syria in the fifteenth century B.C., the relations of the kings of the Hurri and of Egypt to the states in the Aleppo area are deduced from documents found at Tell Amarna, Boğaz-Köi and even Nuzi east of the Tigris. It is obvious that the thirty years of Idri-Mi as a member of the Hurri confederacy are incompatible with the overlordship of Egypt when Thutimes III raided the Hurri lands east of the Euphrates, or chased wild elephants on the shores of Lake Jabbul south of Aleppo.

The Egyptian data in the second millennium are accepted as entirely reliable. They result from combinations of entries concerning the heliacal risings of Sothis with data as to new moons. Can they be reduced, as advocated by Professor Albright and Dr. Emil Forrer, and those who believe that the Khorsabad Assyrian King List can be used to establish an exact chronology in Julian years? The author cannot be persuaded without precise proof. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est*. The technical discussion is not closed. But another page has been added to the history of Syria, for centuries, as still today, the meeting place of all races and interests.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LEON LEGRAIN

Hamā: Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg, 1931-1938. Les cimetières à crémation, by P. J. Riis (Nationalmuseets Skrifter: Større Beretninger I). Pp. xvi+260, figs. 242, pls. 12. Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1948. 75Kr.

This magnificent publication of the cremation cemeteries of Hamā is the first definitive volume of the Hamā series. Undertaken by Harald Ingholt (now of Yale University) in 1931-38 with the aid of the Carlsberg Foundation, the excavation of Hamā is still the high-water mark of archaeological thoroughness and method in Syria. Unfortunately thorough method often goes with indefinitely deferred publication, owing to the additional time that every improvement in technique and method demands of any excavator or expedition staff. To this has been added *force majeure* in the shape of the Second World War, which struck Denmark with particularly paralyzing effect. We are very grateful for the full and competent publication of

the important cremation cemetery by Dr. Riis.

The volume is well printed and its content clearly arranged; the presentation is logical and the conclusions are generally reasonable. The author apologizes for the paucity of photographs, but this is partly compensated by a wealth of line-drawings. However, this is undoubtedly the chief weakness of the publication before us. The plans, though schematic, are exceedingly clear; no one can examine the horizontal and vertical sections on plates 2-9 (in color) without becoming convinced that the excavators' distribution of the graves among four distinct cemeteries is correct. This impression is increasingly confirmed as one penetrates into the book and studies the character of the finds.

The reviewer is thus heartily in accord with the methods followed by the author in establishing the relative chronology of the four cemeteries with cremation burials. He is also in broad agreement with the absolute chronology proposed on 192 ff. However, he considers these dates as tending to be too low, especially for the date at which Period I began. This is placed by the author about 1200 B.C., and attributed to the occupation of Hamath by the "Sea Peoples." It must be emphasized that Riis does not try to identify the latter specifically, but derives them in general from Anatolia. There can be no question that he is correct in recognizing a certain amount of Anatolian influence, but in the reviewer's opinion there is nothing to attach this phase to the "Sea Peoples." In the first place, it is improbable that the irruption of the Sea Peoples in the first decades of the twelfth century B.C., after the fall of the Hittite Empire, extended so far inland as the valley of the Middle Orontes—except perhaps for occasional forays from the coast. That Alalakh and especially Ugarit were destroyed at that time appears certain, but they were located on or near the coast. Moreover, northern Syria had been part of the Hittite Empire from its conquest by Suppiluliuma about 1370 B.C., and after the fall of the Empire the old traditions were maintained for centuries by local dynasties whose kings bore Hittite names and who wrote in Hittite characters and worshipped Hittite deities. Hamath was one of the most important of these successor states. Since the Hittites are known to have practiced cremation (cf. Riis, 40 ff.) it is hard to see any special reason why cremation should have been introduced after the fall of the Hittite Empire rather than before.

If we examine the finds from Period I it is hard to escape the impression that this period began in the late thirteenth century rather than in the early twelfth. In the first place, the pottery has very definite Late-Bronze background, and does not resemble the pottery first introduced by the invading tribes in the early twelfth century (e.g., Philistine). It belongs in

the horizon of Megiddo VII (cir. 1300-1140 B.C.), the first phase of which (VIIb) is thirteenth century, whereas the second phase (VIIa) is twelfth. In dealing with individual pieces it must be remembered that no cemetery can match good stratification in a mound with respect to precision, and that small individual pieces such as sherds or seals must always be treated with great caution for dating purposes. In spite of the sound method employed by the excavators and author, there seems to be some mixture of periods. Otherwise it is hard to explain how a given type of pottery can so often be attributed to three or even four periods (e.g., pp. 48, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, etc.). The occurrence of cylinder seals from earlier times in Periods I, II, and III (150 ft.) is curious and can scarcely be explained entirely by reuse of older objects. Moreover, Stratum F on the Hamā mound should probably be dated back into the end of the Late Bronze; I should prefer for it a date between cir. 1250 and cir. 1000 B.C. (as against Riis's date between 1200 and 925 and Schaeffer's between 1450 and 1100 [*Stratigraphie Comparée*, pp. 112-115]). Riis's date for Hamā G after the fifteenth century is not acceptable; we must certainly return to Ingholt's date cir. 1550-1450, which is accepted by Schaeffer (*op. cit.*, p. 111). Neither Riis's attempt to eliminate the hiatus of cir. 250 years left in Ingholt's system by reducing the chronology of Stratum G nor Schaeffer's similar effort by raising the date of Stratum F can be seriously defended; Riis would have been better advised to have followed the lead of Martin Noth instead of reacting against it (201 and n. 7). However, this slight raising of dates does not in the least indicate any serious disagreement between author and reviewer about the dating of most of the contents of the first two periods of the cremation burials in Iron I (twelfth-tenth centuries).

The exact dating of Period II eludes the reviewer, who is inclined to place it entirely in or about the eleventh century. It appears to correspond more closely to Megiddo VI than to any other well-defined archaeological phase in the south. Period III presumably reflects the tenth and early ninth century, while Period IV may be dated roughly in the late ninth and eighth (down to about 720 B.C., when Sargon II of Assyria destroyed Hamath). Periods III and IV are equated by Riis, no doubt correctly, with Stratum E. It can scarcely be accidental that no important ivories are reported from the earlier burial periods, or from Stratum F, and that they begin with Period III (e.g., the splendid ivory drinking cup with an ivory handle shown in fig. 230, p. 180, which I should hesitate long before dating after the early tenth century). Some of the ivories published by Ingholt (*Sept campagnes de fouilles*, pl. xxxiv: 4-5) may very well go back to the tenth century, in view of their resemblance to the

earlier Nimrud ivories; they are also attributed to Stratum E, i.e., to Period III.

Dr. Riis is quite right in pointing out (114, n. 3) that some of my proposed dates for Cyprian geometric are too high. On the other hand he recognizes a certain amount of justice, "quand il [i.e., the reviewer] critique la chronologie chypriote des savants suédois." At present one of my students is working on a thesis dealing with the relation between the Iron-Age chronologies of Palestine-Syria and Cyprus; it is probable that he will emerge with dates materially higher than most of Gjerstad's, but also substantially lower than some of mine.

In conclusion the reviewer wishes to express his sense of pleasure and profit in studying this volume, which represents a very significant addition to our archaeological stock, though further stratigraphic excavations are necessary before we can date many of the finds with confidence.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Middle East Archaeology, by Sir Leonard Woolley. Pp. 45. Oxford University Press, 1949. 2s. 6d.

In this publication of the James Bryce Memorial Lecture delivered at Somerville College, Oxford, on May 12, 1949, the noted excavator of Ur and Alalakh discusses his belief that the chief task facing Middle Eastern archaeology today is the investigation and elucidation of interaction among the great civilizations of the area. He states that, although our knowledge of the four major cultures—Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Aegean, and Hittite—is far from complete, the best, and indeed the only valid, way in which it can be increased is by a study of the buffer areas into which the great powers extended their influence, where we may see diverse isolated cultural elements received and adapted by countries other than those of their origin. This makes economic geography the chief basis of selection of a site for excavation.

With this in mind Sir Leonard chose the site of Tell Atchana (Alalakh) in northern Syria, a site which served as a meeting-place of influences from Asia (specifically Mesopotamia) and the Aegean. The major part of the booklet deals with the history of Alalakh in terms of the influences from those two areas. In the early levels there are indications of contact with Mesopotamia in the columned palace of level XII, an Early Dynastic cylinder seal in level XI, and a Sargonic seal in level X. Around 1780 B.C. (according to Sidney Smith's chronology) when the ruler of Alalakh was allied to Hammurabi of Babylonia, the culture of Alalakh shows influence, not only from that country, but also from Egypt, Anatolia, and the Aegean. Sir Leonard makes an excellent point that

similarities in architectural plans and building techniques demonstrate closer contact between countries than similarities between small objects, which could be the result of casual trade; the former implies either emigration of craftsmen from one country to another, or a sufficiently close origin for the people of two lands to share a common tradition. Therefore the half-timber construction, the orthostate course at the base of a wall, and the use of the audience chamber divided by a row of wooden columns on stone bases (all known both at Alalakh and in the Palace of Minos at Knossos) are especially significant.

With level VI begin connections with Cyprus, first the red-on-black painted pottery, and then the black slipped ware with white painted decoration and the well known "milk bowls." The last named are so common in level IV as to preclude the idea of import from Cyprus, and Sir Leonard concludes "that there was an intimate relation between the two countries such that they produced practically identical wares." At this time (the Late Bronze Age) there is little trade with Crete and no indication of a Mycenaean colony like that at Ugarit, although the excavator sees Aegean influence in the designs applied to the so-called "Nuzu ware" in the late fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries.

The settlement of Alalakh ended with the destruction by the Peoples of the Sea around 1200 B.C. Its harbor town, al-Mina, was probably destroyed at the same time, but soon rebuilt to serve as a port of contact between Asia and Europe. Although nothing earlier than the eighth century has survived, Sir Leonard believes that the port existed during the floruit of Alalakh in a relation comparable to that between Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra-Ugarit, and suggests that al-Mina was rebuilt in the twelfth century by the Greeks, in accordance with the tradition recorded by Herodotus. He believes that the pre-eighth century levels have been washed away by the river. This seems probable in view of the exposed location of the city. The two lowest levels preserved show Proto-geometric pottery from East Greece and the islands; then there is an abrupt change, coinciding with a new destruction of the port, after which the imported pottery is almost exclusively Cypriote Iron Age. Sir Leonard postulates a Cypriote invasion in order to secure a monopoly of the trade with the Aegean area. Al-Mina was probably the port through which the Orientalizing influence came to Greece in the seventh century, and it remained open all through the Persian War; Athenian merchants lived there, carried on business, and continued to use Attic coinage.

Sir Leonard closes his lecture with a few wise words on the necessity for caution in the evaluation of even the finest material, and the folly of considering the stratification of one site as basic for the chronology of

a large area. Such words are very pertinent now when advances in our knowledge of chronology and comparative stratigraphy have tempted some scholars to build grandiose structures on what is still an insecure foundation; they are a testimony to the wisdom and judgment of an archaeologist who combines historical insight with brilliant excavation technique.

YALE UNIVERSITY

ANN PERKINS

La Naissance de l'Aurore, Poème mythologique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, traduit et commenté par René Largement. (Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia, Ser. 2, Fasc. 2.) Pp. 55. Louvain, 1949. Belg. fr. 50.

This work comprises (a) a review of the various attempts which were made to interpret the Ugaritic text generally cited as SS (Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* II, no. 52) from the publication of the editio princeps by Vroilleaud in *Syria* 14 (1933) 128-151 through the year 1948, or rather—since no studies appeared during the two years preceding the publication of the present one—through 1946; and (b) an attempt at interpretation by the author. In a footnote on p. 5 the previous studies which are reviewed are enumerated. One is astonished to miss W. F. Albright, "The North-Canaanite Poems of Al'êyân Ba'al and the 'Gracious Gods'," *JPOS* 14 (1934) 101-140, of which pp. 133 ff. are sub-titled "The Myth of the Gracious Gods," and to find that this paper is in fact only referred to indirectly (p. 17) as "Albright," without verse, chapter, or book, in the course of a report on the romancings of Nielsen; which are summarized faithfully, like the equally wild or wilder fantasies of Barton, Dussaud, and the Gaster of 1934. It is gratifying to note that despite this heady material the rapporteur himself remains sober. On the other hand, while his own translation and commentary contain some suggestions which specialists will weigh, they also include some renderings and explanations which in the light of our present knowledge are clearly wrong. The general reader will therefore do better to consult the treatments of the text in question by Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (1949) 57-62, and Gaster, *Thespis* (1950) 223-256.

H. L. GINSBERG

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana, by Richard N. Frye. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 113.) Pp. 49, 1 plate. New York, 1949. \$2.00.

The Russian excavations in the unexplored soil of Transoxiana, the ancient Choresm-Kangchu, yielded results which may show unexpected and far-reaching

connections. This area around the Aral Sea at the beginning of our era was a Central Asiatic pivot of cultural and political influences between the Nomad world, China, India, Persia and the Greek cities on the Black Sea.

The coinage, continuous from the Bactrian Greek Kingdom to the Arab conquest in the eighth century, reveals the importance of the Choresmian center in its relations with neighboring states. There is startling proof that certain symbolic forms, particularly those of kingship, originated in Transoxiana. The *tamga*, a formal device characteristic of Choresmian coins, appears also on the neighboring Kushan and Sassanian coinages, as an emblem of the "Scandinavian" dynasty of Rurikovich in Russia (Tolstov, *Ancient Choresm* 184), and as a sometimes more, sometimes less classicized monogram in Byzantium and perhaps even as far afield as on Visigothic coins and those of Charlemagne. From the first century B.C. to the eighth A.D., from Central Asia to Spain, the *tamga* appears in a form related to the Greek cross; the spread seems connected with the migration movements from East to West and study may show that the form of the cross is due not solely to Christian symbolism, and that other factors must be taken into account. The term *tamga*, not used by Mr. Frye, in Ossetian and Mongol means a cattle-brand (Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* 316 f.) and in the fourteenth century denoted the coinage of the Choresmian region (Ibu Batuta, quoted by R. S. Lopez: "Merchants in the Medieval Indies," *Jour. of Econ. Hist.* 3 [1943] 177, n. 49).

Few of the coins under discussion have found their way into Europe and the 1000 specimens known in Russia are published with unsatisfactory reproductions. The value of Frye's monograph, a summary of Russian literature on the subject, lies in calling attention to this little known coinage and pointing out its wide relationships. It should be noted, however, that the author was as yet unfamiliar with S. P. Tolstov's *Ancient Choresm* (in Russian), (Moscow 1948). In Chapter IV of that work, "Coins of Syaskid-Aphrigids," the Choresmian culture is fitted into the general history of civilization better than Frye judged possible from the articles in Russian periodicals.

Archaeologists will find in this coinage a wealth of material now unknown. It should provide some solutions to Kushan and Indian archaeology and throw light on the unknown quantity in "Scytho-Iranian" objects (defined in works of Rostovtzeff); it ties many elements of Imperial Rome and Byzantium directly with the Migration Period which brought to Europe so much that is little understood. One might also mention the importance of these coins for other arts. The French excavators in Afghanistan (Schlumberger, "The Ghaznavid Palace of Lashhavi-Bazar," *ILN* March 25, 1950, 458 ff.) may find that the source of

the architectural forms they are discovering also lies in Choresm and is illustrated and dated by Tolstov.

YALE UNIVERSITY

B. PHILIP LOZINSKI

Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte, by Jean-Philippe Lauer. Pp. 229, figs. 49, Pls. 16. Payot, Paris, "Bibliothèque Historique," 1948.

M. Lauer's book is a survey of our knowledge of the Egyptian pyramids and of the many speculations concerning these impressive monuments. The author, architect and excavator of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, has been engaged in working on the pyramid complexes of Sakkarah and Giza for some years, and is especially well qualified to deal with this subject. The book is clearly and simply written, designed for the layman rather than the specialist, but of value to anyone interested in the study of antiquity.

The first section is devoted to a rather detailed discussion of the development of our knowledge of the pyramids. The author quotes descriptions from Herodotus and other writers of the Greco-Roman world, from Arab authors, Christian pilgrims of the Middle Ages, and from travelers of the Renaissance and of early modern times; he also recounts the legends and beliefs which had grown up around these monuments. The publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* marked a new phase in the western world's knowledge of that country, and opened an epoch of exploration and investigation in and around the pyramids; the works of Belzoni, Vyse and Perring, Lepsius, Mariette, Petrie, Maspero, and J. de Morgan in the nineteenth century are all described. The early twentieth century saw more detailed investigations, especially those of Reisner and Borchardt, with the Service des Antiquités taking an active part after the first World War, and expeditions sponsored by the Egyptian universities and the Egyptian government during and after the recent war.

The author then gives a clear and succinct description of all the known pyramids and their associated structures, and discusses the evolution and significance of this impressive form of monument. He sees the Step-Pyramid of Zoser, originally a mastaba and later enlarged into the stepped form, as the prototype of the true pyramids and the concrete expression of similar concepts. It may have been the visual symbol of the stairway or ladder by which the dead king mounted to the throne of his father the sun, or the primeval hill which was the first point of land to emerge from the waters of Chaos. There is, of course, no question that the pyramid itself was the tomb of the king; however, the significance of the other parts of the complex is much less certain. By the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, there were regularly four ele-

ments of this complex: the upper temple against the face of the pyramid, the lower temple at the edge of the river, the causeway connecting them, and a small subsidiary pyramid near the large one. Before the end of the dynasty the "solar barks" cut into the rock near the upper temple or along the causeway were added to the complex. The functions of the two temples are by no means well known, and M. Lauer, in view of the insufficient material evidence, wisely points out the hypothetical nature of all speculations as to their ritual significance. The pyramid-tomb remained in use through the Middle Kingdom, its form and that of the associated structures showing a continuous development broken only in the unique funerary complex of Mentuhotep III at Deir el-Bahri.

The third section of the book discusses many fantastic theories about the pyramids, especially about the pyramid of Khufu, evolved by fanatics who would see the latter as the embodiment of religious prophecy, esoteric knowledge, lost science, etc. M. Lauer points out the inexactitude of measurements on which most of these theories are based, the lack of logic in the reasoning, and their authors' blank disregard of the unanimous agreement among Egyptologists as to the function of the pyramids.

In dealing with the techniques of construction, the author draws on his great knowledge of the Step-Pyramid, calling attention to the advances in methods of stoneworking visible during the course of construction of this monument as the builders became more adept at handling the new building material. He describes the tools and equipment used, and gives special attention to the various theories on the methods used in transporting and lifting the huge blocks.

The monograph closes with a chapter on the meaning of the pyramids in Egyptian religion, and the beliefs of the Egyptians concerning the god-king. The Pyramid Texts, with their mixture of the solar cult and that based on the Osiris legend, are discussed briefly and suggestions as to the reasons for placing them on the tomb walls are given. One might wish that this section had been somewhat expanded; but rather one should congratulate M. Lauer on his achievement in presenting in a small compass a wealth of information, based on his extensive knowledge of the pyramids and written in a style which makes it accessible and pleasing to specialist and layman alike.

YALE UNIVERSITY

ANN PERKINS

Le Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari, by Marcelle Werbrouck. Pp. 140+10 figs.+48 pls. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Brussels, 1949. 275 B.fr.

The reader must be grateful for this labor of love by the Directress of the Fondation Égyptologique

Reine Elisabeth which through many vicissitudes has resulted in a handsome volume devoted to the most beautiful of ancient Egyptian temples. For, like Carlyle's *French Revolution*, this book has had to stand the ordeal by fire before it could see the light of day. It is an enthusiastic book; and few readers will doubt that Miss Werbrouck is right in considering the temple of Deir el Bahri one of the wonders of the world and the best and most complete expression of the civilization of the New Kingdom in Egypt.

In a historical introduction the author sketches the history of the early Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs. She accepts the now prevailing view of the order of succession: Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III. She believes that Tuthmosis III was about ten years old at the death of his father (Tuthmosis II) and that Hatshepsut kept him in the background for twenty years after that event, until just before her own death.

In following Miss Werbrouck's description of the temple, beginning at the site of the "valley temple," and passing upward to the lower court, thence to the intermediate terrace, the upper terrace, the sanctuary, and finally back to the Anubis and Hathor chapels, it is necessary to make extensive use of Naville's publication of Deir el Bahri (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, 6 vols., 1894-1908). Indeed, while the book contains forty-eight excellent photographic plates, including several superb new views, it cannot be properly understood without Naville. Careful use of the two publications together is an inspiring experience, however, and is the best possible substitute for a visit to the original monument. One cannot help feeling conscious of the inadequacy of Naville, especially in view of his omission of such interesting scenes as that of the dancing girls in the procession of Amun (91 and n. 1), and wishing that modern methods and techniques might be applied to the production of a new publication of this great monument.

By extensive use of recent excavation reports and research on Deir el Bahri this book gives us for the first time a comprehensive up-to-date picture of the temple, including valuable notes on fragments of reliefs from the temple which have found their way into various museum and private collections. The author points out that the original plan was to build a structure resembling the Eleventh Dynasty temple immediately to the south, with a pyramid surmounting a square platform accessible by a ramp, and with a chapel at the rear. This project was abandoned in favor of the more complex combination of terraces, ramps, colonnades, and rock cut chapels—unique in the history of Egyptian architecture—which was designed and executed over a period of approximately ten years by Hatshepsut's devoted friend and architect, Senmut. Taking into consideration the characteristic feature of

the Upper Egyptian landscape, where the cliffs on either side of the Nile offer to the eye an endless series of horizontal and vertical lines of stone and shadow beyond the level alluvial plain. Senmut converted the familiar elements of earlier architecture into a harmonious ensemble of similarly contrasting lines and planes by his use of fluted columns, square pillars, and the elongated architraves of Deir el Bahri. Like all visitors to the temple, the author is impressed with its intense brightness. (When this reviewer once visited it at night he encountered an artist out to paint it by the soft light of the full moon.) A few cult chambers and chapels and the sanctuary on the uppermost level provide a trace of that atmosphere of darkness and mystery which prevails in later temples with their columned halls, each one dimmer than the last, leading finally to the holy of holies almost totally bereft of light. Otherwise, in striking contrast, Deir el Bahri is a temple of light, and nothing obscures one's view of the delicate bas-reliefs which unfold the story of the famous queen's "miraculous" birth, her call to the throne (which Miss Werbrouck appears to accept at its face value, rather than as the fiction which most Egyptologists believe it to be), the transport of her two mighty obelisks to Karnak, and the wonderful voyage to the land of Punt.

The author deplores the unsightly restoration of the lower colonnade made by Naville and wishes that the Metropolitan Museum expedition might have rectified it during long years of work on the site. One must join in her dissatisfaction at the state in which the temple has lain during the past decade, yet matters might have been worse had a too hasty restoration been undertaken.

Miss Werbrouck makes innumerable interesting and stimulating observations concerning the subject matter of the reliefs and decoration of Deir el Bahri. A brief comment on some of these may point out errors which can be corrected in a second edition or suggest different interpretations.

In the scene of "driving the four calves" (Naville, VI, pl. 161), the "baton de bouvier" and the "houlette" held in the two hands of the Queen (36) are really the two parts of a snake, as clearly shown in the relief and described in the accompanying inscription on the gateway of Ptolemy Euergetes at Karnak (cf. *JEA* 35, pl. 7 and p. 106); they are also quite distinct in another Deir el Bahri relief (Naville, V, pl. 134).

The reviewer would prefer to interpret the decoration of the great bed in the birth scene (36; Naville, II, pl. 53), which the author believes to be a schematic rendering of the palace façade to indicate the place in which Hatshepsut was born, as merely the characteristic Egyptian method of combining a top and side view while representing the webbing of the bed.

An elongated sky spread over the entire scene in

which the infant Hatshepsut and her *ka* are presented to the three divinities does not indicate that the place of presentation is necessarily a temple or sacred precinct (57). It was the regular custom in all Egyptian temple reliefs to carve or paint a long sky-sign over the entire scene and a similarly prolonged land-sign beneath. Unfortunately, such details have often been overlooked by copyists. A single such sky-sign is sometimes carried over an entire series of reliefs on a temple wall, and one may then observe the two corners of the elongated sky-hieroglyph only above the left-most and right-most scene of the series (cf. *Medinet Habu*, IV, pl. 198, top left; this blue sky extends over the entire representation of the feast of Min, on both the north and east walls of the second court, ending at the top right of pl. 207, where the corner is not properly rendered, probably because of carelessness on the part of the ancient designer. Cf. also *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 94, where lower corners of the sky are not indicated since the scene is midway in a series, and pl. 102; the former is a battle scene which could not possibly be regarded as depicting an event occurring in a sacred area. In certain plates of the Oriental Institute publication of *Medinet Habu* this indication of the sky has been carelessly omitted).

One of the fragments of the Deir el Bahri reliefs which was long ago removed to Berlin (Inv. No. 14994) depicts a warrior carrying a standard surmounted by two horses. Miss Werbrouck following Capart suggests (90) that this is the earliest Egyptian representation of the horse. A still earlier one, however (from the time of Amenhotep I), is reproduced in Griffith and Tylor, *The Tomb of Renni*, pl. 2.

It appears unlikely that the temple sanctuary contained no permanent statue of Amun, as suggested (95). The evidence from *Medinet Habu* indicates that the Amun figures which "dwelt" in mortuary temples of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties enjoyed the benefits of a cult and the accompanying offerings of food and other objects, many of which were presented daily (cf. *Medinet Habu*, III, pl. 140, l. 56; pl. 146, ll. 219-92). While the much earlier temple of Hatshepsut contains no list of offerings comparable with the gigantic *Medinet Habu* (and Ramesseum) "calendar," it is practically certain that daily and other periodic offerings were made there and that statues of Amun and his associates were constantly present to enjoy what was placed before them before it was passed on to the priests and other temple personnel.

It is useful to find recorded in the volume the reminder of later discoveries in the temple, such as the cachette of coffins of the high priests and viziers excavated in 1933 in the vestibule of the chapels of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut. The author also reminds us (107) that Deir el Bahri scenes were copied in the

late period in the magnificent tomb of Mentuemhet, not far away (No. 34).

Though Hatshepsut suppressed Tuthmosis III during the period of her usurpation of the throne, there is ample evidence at Deir el Bahri and elsewhere that she was obliged to permit him some participation in the affairs of state or at least in the temple ritual. Miss Werbrouck points out (11) that he appears as King of Lower Egypt in order to assist Hatshepsut as "King" of Upper Egypt when officiating in the ritual in various of the sanctuaries. The author believes that a difference in rank dictates whether the White Crown (of Upper Egypt) is worn by Hatshepsut and the Red Crown (of Lower Egypt) by her associate, the White Crown being reserved for the hereditary heir, as she believes Hatshepsut to have been. On the granite portal of the sanctuary (Naville, V, pl. 138), however, it is Tuthmosis III who, at the right (i.e., toward the south—Upper Egypt), wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, while Hatshepsut, at the left (i.e., toward the north—Lower Egypt), is shown with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. According to the author's logic, the reversal of the two crowns would indicate that here Tuthmosis III is depicted as hereditary heir and Hatshepsut as playing a subsidiary role. In the reviewer's opinion it is the *orientation of the scene alone* which determines the insignia supplied to the participants on an occasion of this sort. Innumerable details of temple decoration bear this out, and the subject can be effectively followed through all the temples, where it will be seen that insignia of Upper Egypt predominate on the south pylon of a temple or on the south half of a portal, those of Lower Egypt on the north pylon or the north half of a portal (cf. *Medinet Habu*, II, pls. 61, 101, 102; IV, pl. 244, scenes B and C, H and M; Hoelscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, I, pl. 23; II, pl. 39; III, pl. 17).

Any new publication of the reliefs and inscriptions at Deir el Bahri should devote special attention to the erasures of Hatshepsut's figure and names and to the study of the usurpations in the names of Tuthmosis I, II, and III. (The same admonition applies to all other monuments erected by the great Queen.) Happily, as intimated above, the confusion introduced on this subject by Sethe in his *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis I* (1896) and maintained in *Das Hatshepsut Problem noch einmal untersucht* (1932) and followed by many other scholars has been correctly resolved by Edgerton (*The Thutmosid Succession*, 1933) and Hayes (*Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 1935, esp. Chap. IV). Naville's plates are often unsatisfactory for the study of the problem, and Miss Werbrouck has been led into error in her discussion of the portal to the Hathor shrine (Naville, IV, pl. 95) when she assigns it (p. 127) to Tuthmosis II. The name of the portal is actually: "Portal (named)

[Makare]-is-the-one-who-supplies-food-in-the-house-of Hathor." Though Naville has reproduced the name of Tuthmosis II in the cartouche as if it were original, the feminine gender of the immediately following participle betrays the original presence of Hatshepsut's prenomen Makare in the cartouche where that of her half-brother Aakheperenre-Tuthmosis II was later surcharged.

Miss Werbrouck in her Preface acknowledges the assistance and cooperation of her colleagues, including Professor Pierre Gilbert, who supplied the translations of the hieroglyphic texts. A few slips have occurred, and the reviewer ventures to comment on them for reference in the preparation of a second edition. At the end of 45, the first word of the text is not the infinitive *m³*, "to see," but *sm³wi*, "restore." Thus, the translation should begin with the words "restoration of the monument," etc., rather than "seeing the monument," etc. This is the usual cliché added to monuments restored by Seti I and Ramesses II after the religious revolution of Akhenaton. On 47, the text behind the king has suffered the loss of a number of words at the top, but two *ka*-signs are partially preserved; all these should have been considered in the translation. Perhaps the text closely resembled that behind Khnum in Naville, II, pl. 48. On 55, the translation twice names Hatshepsut as "Vérité-Justice-est-l'âme-du-soleil" and on 77 she is referred to as "Celle-qu'embrasse-Amon, la-première-des-nobles." However, the author nowhere explains that these are merely the two personal names familiar to most students of Egyptian history as "Kamare" and "Hatshepsut." In the same manner, the names of all the royal persons appearing in the temple reliefs are given in translation, with the result that the identity of the different Pharaohs is left somewhat obscure. The customary method of leaving royal names untranslated must be regarded as preferable, in spite of the difficulty of pronunciation. (Who, for example, would recognize the familiar "Ramesses" if he only encountered its translation, "Re-is-the-one-who-has-borne-him"?)

On 59, l. 4, Gardiner (*Grammar* § 483) construes the word translated "ils vinrent" (which lacks an expressed subject) as an auxiliary verb. According to the second edition of Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV 249, the last word of the translation on 59 should be revised to read "des dieux" in place of "d'Hathor." On 60, second translation, line 1, the word rendered "Horus" is really only the determinative of the preceding word "father." On 62, the lacuna in line 11 could have been restored to read "nobles du roi" on the basis of Sethe, *op. cit.* 256, l. 9. On 63, l. 21 and 76, l. 10, the *nbtj* title of the Egyptian king should be rendered "les deux déesses" (Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien Classique* 392), rather than "maître des diadèmes."

In fig. 6, p. 64, the fourth and fifth columns from the right ought to be transposed, as the praenomen of the pharaoh never follows the nomen in the series of the five titular designations.

On 71, l. 3, read "Karnak" instead of "Thèbes." On 72, l. 3, read "notre" rather than "votre"; the hieroglyphic group has a superfluous *t* after the feminine ending of the noun (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §62). The correct reading has special significance here, as it indicates that the nobles of Punt in whose mouth the speech is placed acknowledge Hatshepsut as their ruler. On 76, l. 6 of the translation, the verb rendered "il a rendu florissant" is really *srd* and means "he has decreed." In ll. 10 and 11 of the same passage, the words for "south" (*Sud*) and "north" (*Nord*) are actually the Egyptian words for "southerners" and "northerners." In l. 4 of the translation beginning on 77, the phrase rendered "roi des Deux Pays" should read "roi de Haute- et de Basse-Egypte." The translation of the dedicatory inscription on the granite portal of the upper terrace fails to recognize the grammatical construction in the second part of this cliché, which is rightly interpreted in Gardiner, *Grammar*, §507, 2 and Lefebvre, *Grammaire* §410. The same misunderstanding occurs on 111 in connection with the dedication of the great limestone altar, also on the upper terrace. This is properly rendered: "[Hatshepsut] has made as her [monument for] her [father] Re-Harakhti the making for him of a great altar of Turah limestone, in order that she may enjoy (lit., make) a given-life-stability-good-fortune like Re forever."

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE KEITH C. SEELE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Ramesside Administrative Documents, edited by Sir Alan Gardiner. Pp. xxiv + 101 + 1a-83a. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum. Oxford University Press, 1948. \$7.00.

Sir Alan Gardiner is generally recognized by Egyptian philologists as their leader. When he edits a group of Egyptian texts, it is almost an impertinence to state that the editing meets the highest standards ever attained in the craft.

The volume under review contains hieroglyphic transcriptions of twenty-six hieratic texts or fragments, all of which "in one way or another throw light on the public management of life under the Pharaohs" (p. iii). In date they range from the reign of Ramses II to that of Ramses XI or perhaps a little later: from the early or middle part of the thirteenth century B.C. to the early part of the eleventh. This span of less than two centuries included both good times and bad: years of peace and prosperity, years of invasion by foreigners, years of successful foreign adventure by the Pharaohs, years of disintegration and civil war. Through

it all, the priest, the administrator, the government office clerk, the policeman, and the tax collector plied their ancient trades with varying degrees of devotion to their own or the public interest. All of these are well represented in the volume. All of the texts are of value, and several are of exceptional importance. Almost all were unpublished or badly published hitherto; this volume is now the standard edition of all of them, and it is not likely to be superseded for many a long year. Everyone seriously studying Ramesside administration or the Late Egyptian language must have it within reach of his hand.

Gardiner acknowledges the scholarly help of Jaroslav Černý and the late T. Eric Peet, each of whom (but especially Černý) contributed importantly to the reading of the often very difficult underlying manuscripts. The beautifully clear hieroglyphic handwriting of the book is Černý's.

Only one short text (no. xx, a three-line fragment of a letter) is translated in the volume.¹ The volume, therefore, is directly useful only to those who can read Egyptian. Most of the material has been translated by Gardiner, either in his article "Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn"² or in the second or third volume of his edition of the Wilbour Papyrus (1948). One long and extremely important text (no. xxv, the Turin Indictment Papyrus) was translated by Peet.³ The present reviewer has prepared a translation of another (no. xviii, the Turin Strike Papyrus) which is to appear in the *JNES* 10.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO WILLIAM F. EDGERTON

Orient, Hellas und Rom, in der archäologischen Forschung seit 1939, by Karl Scheffold. Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Karl Hörm, vol. 15. 248 pp., 8 pls. A. Francke AG. Verlag, Bern, 1949. Sw. fr. 18.80.

This is the 15th volume of a series of reports on the progress made in various branches of knowledge during the decade 1939 to 1949. The contents of this series range from philosophy, philology, and history to archaeology, art history, music and medicine. Mr.

¹ In this fragment, the words which Gardiner translates, "that (?) you have branded all my cattle with this branding-mark" should, I think, be rendered, "It is with this branding-mark that you are to brand all my cattle." The definite article *p3* which Gardiner restores before this sentence seems improbable: the "aleph" may as easily be a "back-roll" and the final sign of a lost sentence. The sentence appears to me to be an order, not a historical statement. — Gardiner feels "little doubt" that this fragment "once formed part of the same manuscript" as the Lee and Rollin papyri: can one really say more than it was written by the same scribe?

² *JEA* 27 (1941) 19-73.

³ *JEA* 10 (1924) 116-127.

Schefold's contribution gives a comprehensive résumé of recent discoveries in archaeology, which, with its full index, will prove an invaluable reference book.

The material is conveniently divided into the four large divisions of our science—the Orient, Greece, Rome, and the border states (i.e. Persia, Scythia, Etruria, Spain, etc.)—and into the subheadings of excavations, architecture, painting, sculpture, portraiture, and mythology. The whole is an extraordinarily competent piece of work. Practically all important new discoveries are included, often with enough comment to enable the reader to judge their significance. In these comments Dr. Schefold's personal views are occasionally given prominence, an understandable and merited privilege of an author. The thirty-two illustrations give a selection of important recent discoveries.

Considering that 1939 to 1949 were the war and post war years, it is amazing how much progress we have made in our field. The report is in fact thoroughly heartening and augurs well for the future. It has, moreover, a welcome international character.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
GISELA M. A. RICHTER

History of Ancient Geography, by J. Oliver Thomson. Pp. xi+427, figs. 66, pls. 2, Cambridge, University Press, 1948. \$10.00.

Professor Thomson of the University of Birmingham here attempts to put down everything which ancient theory or modern research can show to have made up the geographical knowledge of the ancients, from the "Phantom Peoples" of the earliest times down to the author of the Peutinger map. The area concerned extends from the sources of the Nile and Niger, or from the Congo, on the south, to Thule on the north, and from the Atlantic on the west to China on the east. As geography is construed in the most generous sense, including not only topography and chartography but astronomy, ethnology, physics, zoology, botany, mineralogy, oceanography, hydrology, and climatology, it is apparent that this is a volume to eclipse the two editions of Tozer, not to speak of the more limited projects of Semple, Cary, and the rest. When it is noted that Thomson includes politics also, and the wanderings of the nomads, one may get the impression that this is not only a universal *tade mecum* for classical (also pre- and postclassical) antiquity, but almost a substitute for all other approaches to the same times and places. Some might call it "colossal." Certainly a full treatment of these matters would run one into a Realencyclopädie.

The book is really staggering. In twelve chapters we sweep across the ages and the leagues, to run breathless and dizzy into nineteen pages of Addenda. Paragraphs mean nothing. Each sentence is a new subject.

Footnotes, to defend or attest, rarely to explain, are added whenever convenient, and one may with searching find the needed reference. The author has read everything, weighed everything, included everything. He has gone from China to Peru, from Moses to Muhammad. And he has lived to tell the tale.

It is hardly a book to read, even if the extreme compression of the narrative were not accompanied by a preciousness, not to say a superciliousness of style. The author finds special offense in the authors who most closely parallel himself, at least in ambition. "Vitruvius, architect and engineer, likes to air a half-baked learning" (p. 327). "Pliny is a bookworm, too busy reading and compiling to understand anything properly" (p. 323). But much reading and much even partially-baked learning have not prevented the curious from reading Vitruvius and Pliny with profit, and Thomson's book will also be read, or at least consulted.

For I would be the last to deny that Thomson has accomplished a notable task. Diligent probing here and there reveals his method of work, and his training. He is at home in the manuals of the modern disciplines, McDougall's *The Group Mind*, H. Fyfe, *Illusion of National Character*, J. Rhys, *Studies in Arthurian Legend*, Mackenzie, *Scottish Place-Names*, Dawson, *Progress and Religion*, though seemingly more in English than in other languages. It is a commentary on the pace with which he moves that he rarely cites anything more than once. In the anthropological-historical field he moves as easily, and Dixon's *Iberians of Spain* rubs shoulders with Hitti's *History of the Arabs*. Accumulation of such a bibliography is a large and worthy task, even if one does not read everything. On the other hand, the periodical literature, where the detailed problems are thrashed out, is cited only very rarely. The ancient authors are drawn on as needed, and for that matter, form the basis of the volume, but as the work is conceived in the large, details come inevitably short. This book is not the place to look for the latest discussion of a problem but rather for a treatment, perhaps, of that problem in the conception of a cosmic traveler.

As to the book itself, the arrangement of material is not of the easiest, though a small but adequate index helps one find things. Treatment is by "horizons," a term from the vocabulary of the prehistorians, whose point of view has influenced Thomson materially. "The Early Horizons" deals with the knowledge, real or imagined, of the early peoples from Greece to China, and with their theory. Homer is included in this period, without much discussion. The next "horizons" come down to Herodotus and to Aristotle respectively, and then, with the widening of the world, experience and theory are handled in separate chapters, to Eratosthenes, and to the end of the Roman Republic. Four chapters are devoted to "The Great Days of the Ro-

man Empire," one each to Europe, Africa and Asia, and one to theory, and a last chapter, "The Decline," bridges the gap to the revival of learning and the beginning of modern exploration. It is obvious that these "horizons," unlike, we suppose, those of the prehistorians, are fairly artificial, though such events as Alexander's campaigns and the Roman conquests in north-western Europe do create new eras of knowledge; in any case, one must divide somehow, somewhere.

So far as I can test it, the author's point of view is sensible and his opinions useful. For any problem within his range (and one is tempted to say, "There are few which are not"), he will be consulted with profit. But the volume is not a book, and it is not a "History of Ancient Geography." It is a compendium, crammed with all the author could discover of what the Greeks and Romans knew about their environment.

YALE UNIVERSITY

C. BRADFORD WELLES

The Western Greeks. The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C., by *T. J. Dunbabin*. Pp. xiv+514; 9 maps and plans. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948. \$11.00.

No area of the ancient world is so little known as Magna Graecia. In spite of extensive archaeological exploration, and in spite of the excellent review furnished long ago by Freeman, and the surveys, complete or partial, of Pais and Ciaceri, the Western Greeks have remained something of an enigma to students of Greek and Roman history. What is the chronology of the western settlements, and more important, who were these Greeks? What was their civilization and their mentality? What were their relations to the other peoples of the West, Sicels and Phoenicians and Italians? What were the moving forces of their history, marked typically by tyranny, bloodshed, and instability? It is to answer these questions, or at least to isolate them, that Dunbabin has set himself in *The Western Greeks*, a book of immense labor and learning, and brilliant insight and imagination.

Followers of the work of Alan Blakeway will recognize the hand of the master in the work of this extraordinary pupil. Blakeway's "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Commerce with Italy, Sicily, and France in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C." (*BSA* 33 [1932/33] 170-208) is the starting point of Dunbabin, and its conclusions are accepted and defended by him. In addition, however, the author has spent much time in field work, and is familiar with the topography and monuments, and with the museums, of his area. This experience allows him to speak with authority about the little-known ancient roads and routes of southern Italy, one of which he himself discovered (north of

Sybaris via the Passo dello Scalone and S. Agata all'Esaro; 203 f.), and to correct the excavator Marconi on the dating of the pottery from Selinus (from Protocorinthian to Late Corinthian; 307-309; cf. also *BSR* 16 [1948] 19-23).

The author presented his conclusions for the Bronze Age separately in a paper entitled "Minos and Daidalos in Sicily" (*BSR* 16 [1948] 1-18). He found imports from the East in the areas of Syracuse and Agrigento down to about 1300 B.C., following which contact seems to have been discontinued except in South Italy, especially at the Scoglio del Tonno (Tarentum). The activities of the Western Greeks began with the eighth century.

As to the chronology, Dunbabin believes that Thucydides preserves a sound tradition which is supported by the archaeological evidence. This is argued at length in Appendix I (435-471), and summarized in the table of Foundation Dates (485).

Presentation of archaeological evidence, primarily the pottery, is exhaustive. The material is presented in tabular form in Appendix II, "Rhodian and East Greek Imports," and in Appendix III, "Attic Vases in Sicily and South Italy" (472-482). With this, only a pottery expert may presume to quarrel, and in view of the agreement which seems to prevail concerning most of it, I have the impression that here we are on relatively solid ground. Dunbabin holds to the conservative dating, based on the traditional foundation dates which he accepts, and so opposes a recent attempt to bring the dates down by about a quarter of a century. He feels that this position is supported by Egyptian parallels.

For the more general reader, *The Western Greeks* will serve as a convenient and authoritative guide to what may now be known about this area of the ancient world. The treatment is exhaustive, which means that clarity and the even flow of the narrative is frequently sacrificed to completeness and accuracy. This fact, combined with an insufficient attention to the matter of style, and (it must be confessed) an unmeasured devotion to a supposed "Greek" transliteration of proper names (so that Charondas comes out Kharondas and Thucydides Thukydidēs, although Aristoteles is Aristotle; it is trivial and irrelevant, but I wish that writers of books, at least, might refrain from this kind of rather precious mannerism), does not make all of the volume easy reading. This is particularly true of the early chapters, which should have been rewritten in the interest of legibility. Nevertheless, in the presence of so much, I would not complain of non-essentials.

First we have history, then analysis, and then history again. "The Foundation of the Greek Colonies" (Chap. I) describes the colonial movement in general, while "The Greek Cities" (Chap. II) goes

through the early settlements one by one, telling what is known and giving available plans. "The Expansion of the Sicilian Colonies" (Chap. III) and of the "Italian Colonies" (Chap. IV) deal with the relations of these cities with the natives through the seventh century. These chapters, in bulk, occupy about one-third of the volume, and are perhaps rather to be consulted than read. The remaining chapters, however, are, while equally learned and sensible, of more general interest. Particularly valuable is Chapter V, "Native Elements in the Culture of Sicily and South Italy," for this is quite new. It seems that the Italians, as might be expected, were of tougher stuff than the Sicils, and gave to as well as took from the Greeks; of the latter, except for Ducetius, we see only decline until the assimilation of the fifth century. Their culture was low, their art and craft poor, and their religion unimpressive. They do not figure much in the next chapters, "Communications," "Agriculture," "Commerce," and "Art and Industry." In general, in these matters, the author finds the Western Greeks a colonial people, importing from their mother country in place of making things for themselves, and so little inventive, little artistic. Individuality, even in architecture, appears hardly except at Selinus, and there may reflect a vigor or stimulus derived from the not-always-friendly contacts with the Phoenicians. Even the Rhegian Pythagoras was a Samian.

One would have welcomed here a special study of the coinage, which is actually scattered throughout the volume. The best statement occupies pp. 245-249. The South Italians used the Corinthian standard (approximately) and struck Corinthian silver, often overstriking actual Corinthian coins. The Sicilian cities, Selinus and Himera first, followed by those in the eastern part of the island, struck on an unknown standard, and are thought to have struck Spanish silver. All of these problems relate to the general problem of commerce, since monetary metals and the coinage itself was a commodity of trade. Dunbabin believes that the Corinthians dominated the western trade throughout his period, carrying their own wares through the Cypselid period, and Attic wares (more and more) later on—pointing to the traditional friendship between Athens and Corinth. The South Italian Greeks sent back grain in exchange for wares and silver (except Iocri, which had no surplus grain, and so did not coin till the fourth century), and the trade can have been in balance. Likewise the Sicilian Greeks traded grain for wares with the East, but it is harder to see how they can have traded anything to Spain for silver. Possibly we have to recognize a "three-way" trade, for while it is common to speak of "Corinthian" silver, Corinth as such had no silver, and must acquire it by trading. Possibly all of this silver was actually Spanish.

The last chapters deal with the later foundations

and the later history and contain much good sense and much interesting information, though inevitably, archaeology plays a lesser part. Chapter X, "Himera, Selinus, Akragas," describes the founding and the remains of these places, though the art of Selinus has already been treated. Phalaris emerges as a constructive if vigorous personality, the real founder of Akragas, and the forger of a united front against the Phoenicians. The same theme provides the central motive in the following chapters, "Pentathlos and Dorion," "The South Italian Colonies," "Hippokrates," and "Gelon," Greek against Phoenician, Greek against Etruscan. And, of course, Greek against Greek, for the narrative includes the destruction of Sybaris, and the conquests of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrants. This raises the inevitable complaint about Greek failure to unite, to form a Greek nation against the barbarians, but that is, in itself, a rather futile question. Would the Greeks have done what they did had they been different? Nevertheless, in the face of common danger, the fiercely independent Greeks did on occasion unite, did feel that they were Hellenes and must stand together against the world. What occurred in metropolitan Greece was rarely the usual condition in the outlying districts, and we might suppose that the Western Greeks share the feeling. On the other hand, their major wars against the "barbarians" were fought by the tyrants, and their history shows more inhumanities to each other, more readiness to blend with and to accept the non-Greek, than in the East. Possibly they may have at times cooperated in commercial activities, but the author's suggestion, for example, that Selinus and Himera were interested in the project of Pentathlos to seize Lilybaeum so that the *Greeks* might have a foothold in the West, seems unrealistic. A successful Greek city at Lilybaeum might well have monopolized the western trade even more than Carthaginians were blocking it, leaving Selinus and Himera in a worse position than before. It would be well to have Lilybaeum in friendly hands, of course, and possibly ships from Selinus might have "staged" at Lilybaeum for the voyage to Spain, but Himera could send its ships direct, if no one interfered.

This and similar questions we are now in a position to discuss, thanks to the great services of Dunbabin. It will be the sincerest tribute to his volume if we have now a spate of monographs and special studies dealing with the materials which he has assembled so successfully.

YALE UNIVERSITY

C. BRADFORD WELLES

Onesicritus. A Study in Hellenistic Historiography. by Truesdell S. Brown. Pp. viii + 196. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949. \$3.00 cloth, \$2.00 paper.

"Onesicritus of Astypalaea, seaman, Cynic, and

Alexander-historian, was with Alexander in India; he steered Alexander's ship down the Jhelum and was Nearchus' lieutenant on his voyage. He has left a reputation as a liar, but his book did not profess to be history; it was a historical romance resembling Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, with Alexander as a Cynic hero and culture-bringer. It formed an element in the vulgate, and Strabo and Pliny used it for natural history, but it exercised little direct influence." So Tarn in *OCD*. Enlarging on this, Brown concludes that Onesicritus' book, the *Education of Alexander*, was "an encomium with utopian digressions," written in 310 B.C. or later, in any case after Alexander's death, and containing a preface, a section on the youth of the hero, moral speeches, and dialogues.

The chapter on Onesicritus and the Cynics begins with a paraphrase of Diogenes Laertius' anecdotes about Diogenes of Sinope, and ends with a translation and analysis of Jacoby's Fragment 17a (*FGrHist* IIB, no. 134), in which Cynic elements are detected in the story of Onesicritus' meeting with the gymnosophists Calanus and Mandanis. Brown's translations are, on the whole, sound though too few; there are occasional minor inaccuracies, of which the most serious transforms insolence into indolence (p. 38, line 21).

To my mind the best part of the book is the discussion of Onesicritus' relation to the Utopian literature of the Hellenistic age, to Theopompus, Euhemerus, and Iambulus. In his account of the land of Musicanus, where "with every incentive to a life of indolence or debauch the natives lead a severe, almost a Cynic, existence," Onesicritus turns out to be an "ethnographic propagandist." Here Brown misses a chance to point to the parallel of Toynbee on the "challenge" of a difficult climate and the enervating effect of a mild one.

Brown translates Jacoby's F 22 (with minor inaccuracies) and F 24 (impeccably), and raises the question whether Onesicritus was a natural scientist. He was not; rather, he was an intelligent layman writing a popular account of cotton and the banyan tree, perhaps to stimulate immigration. He was particularly prone to exaggerate about elephants, though he did not go as far as his arch enemy Nearchus, who believed that the beasts could be trained to be crack shots with slingstones.

The final chapter deals with the voyage back from India; in effect, a discussion of Jacoby's F 28, a sea itinerary probably inaccurate in the first place and garbled by Pliny. The discussion badly needs a map. The author in his preface invites the reader to form a judgement independent of the interpretation given in the text. It is a tribute to Brown's honest workmanship that the materials for that judgment are ready to hand in his book. To my mind, Onesicritus is not worth the enormous industry here expended upon him;

Tarn's ten lines are more like his due. As Tarn says (*AJP* 60 [1939] 49), Onesicritus "was not leading a Cynic life, was devoid of Cynic principles, and had a most un-Cynic desire to represent himself as more important than he really was." Tarn convinces me that there was no relation between Alexander and Cynic "cosmopolitanism," because there was no such thing as Cynic cosmopolitanism. And I think this book adds little that is new. The evidence for dating is equivocal; the idea that Onesicritus' book was a combination of historiography and philosophic Utopia is already in Jacoby; the idea that his portrait of Alexander is after the Cynic ideal is in W. Hoffmann (*Das Literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen* [Leipzig 1907] 10, which I miss in Brown's very full bibliography). I should rather have seen Brown's energies expended upon a complete, workmanlike translation of Jacoby's fragments of Onesicritus with a brief commentary and a map.

PAUL MACKENDRICK

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Griechische Vasenmalerei, by Werner Schmalenbach. Sammlung Birkhäuser Band 14. Pp. 42, pls. 158. Verlag Birkhäuser, Basel, 1948. Sw. fr. 8.50.

In this pocket book addressed to the lay public, Greek vase-painting is surveyed from the Minoan to the Hellenistic period. Attic vase-painting, as is to be expected, furnishes the bulk of the illustrations, often, one fears, at the expense of other fabrics. In the introductory sketch much is made of the difference between artists and artisans, and the sociological, historical, and cultural generalizations with which the text abounds are for the most part misleading. Next to nothing is said about the vases themselves and the technique of vase-painting. The names of potters and painters are not always kept apart (for Amasis read Amasis-Maler, for Lydos-Maler read Lydos) and one of the greatest of the Attic vase-painters, the Pan Painter, has been entirely omitted. Attic black-figure is described inadequately and has been, on the whole, misunderstood. The concluding paragraph is a curious jumble of misconceptions.

The illustrations are for the most part taken from Buschor's *Griechische Vasen* which has also been faithfully used for the captions, as proved by the identical misprint on pl. 136 (for Brüssel read Athen). It should have been made clear that the vases illustrated on pls. 1, 2, and 6 are restored reproductions.

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM OF ART

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

Le Trophée des Alpes (La Turbie) by Jules Formigé. Fouilles et Monuments Archéologiques en France Métropolitaine (Supplément à

"Gallia," II). Pp. 104, 62 illustrations. Paris, 1949. Fr. 160.

This volume is the first report of the excavations and partial reconstruction of the *Tropaeum Augusti*, a monument erected in 7 or 6 B.C., by the senate and the Roman people to commemorate Augustus' conquest of the Alpine tribes. The study marks the close of a task begun by the French government in 1905 under the writer's father, J. C. Formigé. The restoration was completed in 1934 under the direction of the author himself, an architect with years of experience in the study of Roman remains in southern France. M. Formigé presents the results of the excavations and, in addition, relates the vicissitudes of the monument from its original form to its present state. The historical summary is, to be sure, a repetition of information given by others who have described the structure.

In the second part of the volume M. Formigé justifies his restoration, and thereby contributes to our knowledge of this monument and its relationship to others of antiquity. He recognizes the use of Vitruvian principles of harmony of composition. His explanation and analysis are significant for archaeologists. In the elements remaining *in situ* he has recognized two series of measurements, multiples of six and seven. A theoretical reconstruction by the application of circles, squares, and equilateral triangles based on these numbers is substantiated by points of coincidence in the remains of the monument itself. His analysis makes possible the reconstruction of a monument of truly beautiful proportions. His description of the materials and methods of construction enhances our appreciation of the Romans' building techniques.

Discovery of new fragments of the great dedicatory inscription and careful measurement of the lettering alters slightly the form described by Mommsen (*CIL* V 7817). The author's arguments that the copy of the inscription given by Pliny (*NH* 3.20) exchanges the positions of the names of two tribes is convincing.

Four appendices give the texts of earlier descriptions of the monument which were used for the reconstruction; a fifth gives the text of the dedication as transmitted by Pliny the Elder. A bibliographical summary, indices of men and places cited, and excellent drawings and photographs complete the volume. Large scale photographs of sculptured fragments and moldings would have given a fuller understanding of the reconstructed monument. A few errors in Appendices II and III must be the result of the transcriber, e.g. 89, l.11, a phrase which should read *è stata murata nel muro del Ricetto, parte è stata messa* has been shortened to *è stata messa*, and 92, l.17, *sita* instead of *spatia* is used. An interesting study by J. Formigé, "Proportions et tracés harmoniques," *L'Architecture*

française, no. 36, October, 1943, cited on p. 30, does not appear in the bibliography.

M. Formigé presents his exposition in a lucid style which conceals the vast number of detailed measurements the task required, and gives us the reconstruction of a monument which commemorates the opening of Gaul to Roman civilization and, in a more general sense, the beginning of *Par Romana*.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY DORIS TAYLOR

Early Scotland. The Picts, the Scots and the Welsh of Southern Scotland, by H. M. Chadwick. Pp. 171, pls. 12, 1 map. Cambridge University Press, 1949. \$4.00.

The fact that this volume is a posthumous publication, edited by Mrs. Chadwick from an unfinished manuscript, together with its projection as a "series of studies on special problems rather than as a continuous history," results in a rather episodic presentation of Professor Chadwick's reconstruction of various aspects of the complex history of early Scotland. Yet the book stands as a worthy tribute to the impeccable scholarship and synthesizing mind of the man who could fashion from the corroborative evidence of history, philology, archaeology, and literature a powerful light to illuminate problems of the Pictish kingdoms from their foundation to Kenneth MacAlpin's unification of Scots and Picts in the ninth century A.D.

Chapter I presents an intensive analysis of seven early Pictish Chronicles and their King-lists; in Chapter II these sources, with Surveys and Genealogies, are critically evaluated (including linguistic evidence for two independent Pictish Chronicles as the source of the two series of texts and discrepancies therein). The third chapter considers the Surveys and their evidence for the geography of the Kingdom of the Picts. In the fourth chapter is discussed the origin of the Pictish Kingdom; language (place-names) and archaeological material (brochs and forts, minor arts) are utilized to reconstruct the invasions of the third century B.C. and their aftermath. The succeeding chapter deals with the linguistic problems of the two peoples who coalesced into the Pictish nation ("invaders" and "natives"). Chapter VI concerns Pictish legend, or the imaginative genealogical elements introduced into the documents. In Chapter VII ("Characteristics of the Pictish Kingdom") Professor Chadwick had planned to treat the rule of succession among the Picts, the ancestry of the Clans, the heathen religion, Christianity, art, literature and the standard of living. But the only portion completed is that on the Matrilinear Principle of succession, and the archaeologist or student of Early Christianity will find that the most useful section of the book was never written. The final chapters are "The Irish Picts" (the Cruithni

of Ulster); "The Kingdom of Dalriada" with a note on Irish chronology in the fifth century which suggests that the usual dates for St. Patrick's missionary activity may not be accurate; and "The British Kingdoms."

Despite the lacuna in Chapter VII, those interested in the early history of the British Isles, Celtic archaeology, or philology will find this book a valuable addition to their libraries.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PHYLLIS PRAY BOBER

The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque, A Record of Archaeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942, by R. W. Hamilton. Pp. xii+104, figs. 48, pls 79. Oxford University Press, 1949. 25 shillings.

The Aqsa mosque at Jerusalem—situated in the Haram al Sharif, that area revered for centuries by Moslems, Jews and Christians—has been of major interest as one of the earliest surviving monuments of Moslem architecture. Today, however, the larger part of its structural fabric is of recent workmanship, the result of rebuilding and repairs undertaken to remedy dangerous weaknesses in the structure, first between 1922 and 1928 and again from 1938 until 1942. Prior to the work of consolidation our knowledge of the history of the monument rested primarily upon literary references, but the disclosure and dismantling of the fabric allowed specialists to make detailed observations. K. A. C. Creswell, in his account of the Aqsa mosque in Chapter V of his *Early Muslim Architecture*, Vol. II, used the observations of the first campaign and based his plan of the monument upon a detailed plan made at that time. R. W. Hamilton, Director of Antiquities for Palestine, was present throughout the second campaign and was able to make a minute examination of the structure. The history of architecture would certainly benefit if such a structural analysis could be made at a number of other early Moslem monuments for the results would serve to check and augment the conclusions of Creswell, many of whose pioneering efforts encountered limitations, restrictions and difficulties.

Eight of the descriptive chapters of this study are devoted to records and observations made in as many component sections of the mosque. Contrary to the indication of the title, the entire area of the mosque is not considered, since the dome and its supporting members were consolidated during the earlier campaign. Three chapters describe the roof timbers and the painted tie-beams and give a catalogue of the carved and painted woodwork. One chapter gives plans and sections of trenches made beneath the floor of the mosque and describes the discoveries made in these excavations. One chapter is devoted to an Historical Summary.

The descriptive chapters present a mass of detail, logically arranged and lucidly explained, illustrated with excellent plans, elevations and drawings of construction details. At the end of each of these chapters several paragraphs summarize general conclusions regarding major construction periods. The sole questionable point noted by this reviewer is a discrepancy between the General Plan of pl. I and the plan of central nave and aisles of fig. 1. On the latter drawing the southernmost pier of the western aisle surrounds an Umayyad column which is omitted from the General Plan.

While only a few specialists may be expected to weigh every word in these chapters, even a rapid reading brings out interesting features of rather general interest. A schematic drawing of the façade of the mosque supports the suggestion that the proportions and spacing of openings were based upon the ratio between the side and the diagonal of a square; evidence slowly accumulates that the use of preliminary designs based upon proportional relationships was common to the several Moslem countries over a period of centuries. Excavations beneath the floor of the mosque—an area commonly identified with the site of Solomon's Temple—revealed no traces of monumental construction of the Jewish period. Several notes on the re-use of building material are included: capitals of the nave aisles are thought to have been brought from the old Martyrium of Constantine and many of the masonry blocks come from Crusader structures of the twelfth century.

The heart of the study, the Historical Summary, is contained within five pages. There the author correlates the conclusions reached from his study of the structural and material evidence with the history of the mosque as given by Arab authors. Inasmuch as Creswell and Hamilton are, and will remain, our best sources for this monument, their conclusions are here compared:

Major structural periods

Creswell		Hamilton
1. Caliph 'Umar (temporary structure)	637 A.D.	
2. Caliph al Walid	709-15 A.D.	Aqsa I
3. Caliph al Mansur	c. 771 A.D.	Aqsa II
4. Caliph al Mahdi	c. 780 A.D.	
5. Caliph az Zahir	c. 1035 A.D.	Aqsa III

According to Hamilton, Aqsa I is represented by a section of the north exterior wall, some standing columns and areas of excavated marble pavement. He suggests that the extensive rebuilding of Aqsa II resulted in a lengthening of the north-south axis of the monument. Aqsa III, he believes, was necessitated by an earthquake which demolished the aisles to the north of the dome and resulted in the reconstruc-

tion of the mosque as a five-aisled structure with wider intercolumniations than in the earlier building. The principal difference between the interpretations of Hamilton and Creswell is that Hamilton found much more extensive plan changes between Aqsa II and III. The general plans of the monument of Creswell and Hamilton are nearly identical, but differ in period indication: Creswell employs a single type of indication for all work through c. 1035 A.D., while Hamilton has been able to use separate indication for his Aqsa I, II and III.

Hamilton also gives brief mention to later work: to the continuation of the efforts of Caliph az Zahir by his successor al Mustansir; to the construction at the site by the Templar Knights between 1099 and 1187 A.D.; and the repairs and additions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He points out that from the middle of the fourteenth century until 1922 no major changes, with the exception of the roof, affected the fabric of the structure.

Readers may feel that the Historical Summary is rather condensed. Possibly the stages of Aqsa I, II and III could have been treated separately using the conclusions at the end of the descriptive chapters and in the discussion of the woodwork, for these conclusions deserve a more extended consideration.

This most valuable study is enhanced by the excellent quality of the photographic plates. Among these, the exhaustive series on the painted and carved woodwork will be of unique value to students in fields other than that of Moslem architectural history.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY DONALD N. WILBER

Slavianske keramika y Bulgarija. (Slavic Pottery in Bulgaria and its importance for the Prehistory of the Slavs in the Balkans), by *Krsto Miatev*. Edited by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Pp. 86, figs. 60. Summary in French. Sofia, 1948.

Titles of books about Slavic prehistory usually contain the word "ceramic," for pottery is one of the most important guides to Slavic prehistory. Slavic culture of the later prehistoric centuries, compared with that of neighboring nations—Baltic or Germanic—offers few other remains; it is supposed the Slavs used implements of wood.

From the eighth to the fourteenth century A.D., Slavic pottery is found over wide areas of East and Southeast Europe, between the Elbe in the West, and the Volga in the East, for these were centuries of tremendous Slavic expansion in East Europe. The pottery of the Slavs is distinguished rather for its ornamentation than its form. A usual decoration is incised lines, wavy or straight, or rows of dots made by a comb. The bottom of pots are often marked with a wheel,

swastika, cross, or concentric circles. In the Eastern regions, e.g. along the Volga, the pottery is more primitive and is handmade, but ornamented in the same way.

Much more is known about Slavic ceramics in Western areas. Its occurrence in East Germany was studied by German and Polish prehistorians before World War II and evoked several important articles on the subject of when the Slavs first came to East Germany and reached the Baltic Sea (see Chr. Albrecht, *Beitrag zur Kenntnis der slawischen Keramik* [Mannus 1923], and H. Knorr, *Die slawische Keramik zwischen Elbe und Oder* [Mannus 1937]). The Polish prehistorian J. Kostrzewski in evaluating the work of Knorr (*Przeglad Archeologiczny*, VII, 1), assigns the earliest Slavic pottery in East Germany to the seventh century. Little attention has been paid to Slavic pottery in Eastern regions and to the problem of its origin in general. In this book, the Bulgarian prehistorian, K. Miatev, tries to cover the general problems of Slavic ceramics and to prove that the origin and the development of Slavic wares was in the Southeastern regions. The pottery found in Bulgaria (Pliska, Madara, etc.) is not to be assigned to the Proto-Bulgarians, as others have thought, but to the Slavs.

The principal conclusions reached by the author are as follows: Inheritance from Roman culture in the Middle Danube region was the source from which the later Slavic pottery, the so-called "Burgwallkeramik," developed, and it can be assumed that its typical wavy ornament is of Roman origin. On the other hand, the Romans adopted some forms from Celtic or Illyrian pottery, as they came to these newly conquered lands. The handleless urn, ornamented by straight lines, is an example. This early pottery continued in use among the Slavs of the Western Slavic areas. In the ninth to eleventh centuries a similar pottery was wide-spread among Slavic tribes both in the West and in the East. In addition to Slavic pottery, there was much finer, thinner ware; some of these vases and amphorae, dated in the ninth and tenth centuries, resemble Roman ones. After the end of the twelfth century Byzantine influence predominated. The author finds no trace of nomadic Proto-Bulgarian influence; the only influences are Roman inheritance, Slavic and Byzantine.

It is natural that ceramic remains in Bulgaria should be exceptionally rich; the Slavs who entered lands with a higher cultural level were more influenced by the indigenous culture than the Slavs who occupied the Northeastern area, but it is not clear why one should emphasize the origin of Slavic ceramics only in Bulgaria. The typical Slavic pottery of Bulgaria does not antedate that of Western Slavic lands.

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M. GIMBUTAS

